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NARRATIVE

OF 26508

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI,

NATIVE OF FERRARA;

WHO, UNDER THE ASSUMED NAME OF MAHOMET,
MADE THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE WAHABEES FOR THE RECOVERY OF MECCA AND MEDINA;

AND

SINCE ACTED AS INTERPRETER
TO EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN SOME OF THE PARTS
LEAST VISITED OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN, AS DICTATED BY HIMSELF,

AND EDITED BY

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

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PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

TO

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

HIS

ATTACHED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

HADJEE MAHOMET.

November, 1826.

VOL. I.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of this little narrative has given in it so circumstantial an account of himself, that there seems to be no occasion for my saying anything, in order to make the reader better acquainted with him. But it may be satisfactory to state, that, as I bore part myself in a considerable portion of the travels, and in many of the incidents which he relates, I can give testimony so far to his truth and fidelity; and therefore feel little

doubt that those gentlemen whom he speaks of having accompanied in other journies and adventures will find him equally accurate, where those are described. Of the remainder, I can recollect to have heard long ago from his own mouth, during the period that he was with me, many of the most remarkable particulars, detailed just in the manner here given: and, whilst I cannot but feel surprised at his memory, which was never assisted by a reference to any book, or consultation of any map whatever, for the purpose of refreshing it, it affords a strong proof of its correctness, that, upon a comparison

of his account of the Wahabee war with that of Monsieur Mengin (which, though rather a dry work*, seems to have been compiled with great industry at Cairo), only such occasional variations in circumstances and details will be found, as might be expected between the personal recollections of an eye-witness, and a chronicle collected and digested from various sources; the principal events, and the order of them, as well geographically as in point of time, being

* Published at Paris 1823, entitled "l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mahomet Ali," 2 vols. 8vo. The author, Monsieur Mengin, had remained in that country from the time of the French Expedition, as appears by his preface.

for the most part the same in both, so that they materially confirm one another, taking only into account, in the names of places, the widely different spelling between a Frenchman and an Italian. An equally satisfactory concurrence is the general result of confronting the description here given of Mecca with that of Ali Bey*;

* Ali Bey was a Spaniard from Catalonia, of the name of Badia: I found some particulars among his original papers, to which I had access at Constantinople, which induced me to suspect him to have been secretly brought up as a Jew, but I have in my possession authentic proof of his having been employed by the French government as a spy, in the original draught in his own handwriting of a memorial to Bonaparte, reciting his services and claiming his reward. His papers prove him to have been a man of indefatigable

the trifling points of ceremonial which do not exactly coincide being doubt-

industry, but of very little previous knowledge; and I have heard from those who conversed with him in the East, that he spoke Arabic very imperfectly. Of his want of historical information the reader will form a judgment when he sees that in page 300 of Vol. i., he evidently supposes Catherine II. to have been widow of Peter the Great! Ali Bey returned into the East a short time before I quitted it, with the intention of penetrating in some new direction from Damascus, but there or in that neighbourhood died soon afterwards, as it was thought, by poison.

It is not from any preference to these two writers, above many others, that I have compared and cited them, but because they write about the same countries and often about the very same persons and events near the same period. I have pointed out where they differ from our author;—Ali Bey seems to have been a man of more industry than intelligence, and more vanity than either; and Mengin had certainly opportunities of being better informed than

less ascribable to the temporary ascendant there of the Wahabees, at the period of Ali Bey's visit. With witnesses so unexceptionable, therefore, in its favour, we are entitled to consider the veracity of the narrative established beyond all dispute.

It was the recollection of those anecdotes which I had heard from him, coupled with the agreeable retrospect

he seems to have been upon some points, as will appear here and there in the notes.

Had Burckhardt's details respecting Mecca been published at the time when I was occupied with the fifth chapter, I should certainly have preferred his authority to Ali Bey's, both from the higher qualifications of the writer, and because there is a still closer coincidence in point of time.

of what we had seen together, that made me think such a memoir might prove interesting, and first induced me to suggest it to him, in this country. His long disuse, however, of European writing (an accomplishment in which he had, perhaps, never been a brilliant proficient) had made him very slow with his pen, and rendered it probable that he would soon abandon the attempt, if he took the whole labour upon himself, which was my motive for recommending that he should rather dictate, than endeavour to put his story to paper with his own hand, an expedient likely also to lead to a

simpler and more natural form of narration. By good fortune, he met with a person in London who seems to have been well qualified for the task, and brought the whole to me within a few weeks, contained in twelve little copy-books, of which the style in the original is easy and unaffected, and (so far as I can venture to judge in a foreign language) the Italian not inelegant.

I had never seen the work during its progress, but found so much amusement in reading it, and apparently so few errors, that I promised to undertake the translation, and to prepare it for the press.

But as the time fixed for his departure from England would not admit of the whole being completed, I applied myself, in the first instance, to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books, (or chapters, as I have called them,) and read them over to him in English, so that those have the benefit of his corrections: for I felt that there would be much less risk of misapprehension or mistake in others, where the facts and geography are familiar to me, than in those where I was quite a stranger, and which I was yet the more anxious to render accurately in all the details of circumstance and place, from consi-

dering the whole account of the war contained in them as one of the most curious portions of his history. Several of the other chapters were also nearly finished before he set out, and he had read over the whole to me in the original, that I might take down, from his mouth, such explanations as seemed necessary; and his answers to such queries as I had already noted, where the sense was obscure, or where by transposition the narrative might be improved.

These variations are incorporated into the text, and, at my recommendation also, some passages that

seemed a little tedious were abridged, and here and there some few expressions relating to myself, which it might give him pleasure to employ, but which it would not become me to render, I have wholly omitted.

In the remainder, I have endeavoured generally to follow the Italian as closely as possible, giving, however, to his geographical recollections, in those countries which we traversed together, the full benefit of a collation with my journals made on the spot, and adding a few notes wherever they suggested themselves as necessary.

The work itself, from its very varied nature, can hardly fail to prove entertaining, even to the general reader, but will have a yet higher value with those who are curious in oriental manners, and in modern oriental history, as containing some details nowhere else to be met with, at least in our language, and on the testimony of an eye-witness: as of the massacre of the Mamelukes by Mahomet Ali, and of his expeditions against the fanatic puritans of Arabia, and into the upper country beyond Dongola. In geography not a little will be found that is new and interesting, for, though

no scientific accounts must be expected, but only such as a plain man of sense and observation can give, yet when it is seen that he made the circuit of the Dead Sea; that he penetrated to the great Oasis; that he accompanied Monsieur Linant in his search for the ancient Meroë, and beyond Sennaar; that he has reached or passed the second cataract of the Nile seven several times; that he has visited both Mecca and Medina, and places lower down to the very borders of Yemen, and Jerusalem frequently; that Petra, and Palmyra, and all the country beyond Jordan, are among the scenes of his narra-

tive,—it will be admitted that he has been a traveller to no ordinary extent; and, possibly, that there is not any one living who has seen altogether so much. But it is at this peculiar time, when the attention and curiosity of all Europe is particularly directed towards the East, that the details of Mahommedan warfare, and the life of a soldier in the Mahommedan service, may seem to acquire a sort of political, as well as historical interest.

It only remains for me to mention that, after a stay of about two years in this country, the author, prompted

by that cheerful and lively, but rather restless, temper, which will, I think, be discerned in his work, returned to seek fresh adventures in the East, with Lord Prudhoe, who has engaged him during his travels as his interpreter.

1828.

POSTSCRIPT, 1829.

Lord Prudhoe, upon his return to this country, after a most interesting and extensive tour in the East, has left Mahomet once more established at Cairo; and should the steam navigation to and from India by the Red Sea produce those facilities of intercourse that have been expected, it has been recommended to him to establish and superintend a small hotel for the accommodation of European passengers.

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MAP
to Illustrate the
Travels of
GIOVANNI FINATI.
In Asia & Africa
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
SYRIA
DESERT
Palmyra
Egypt
Arabia
CYPRUS
MECCA
DONGOLA
KORDOFAN
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THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI.

CHAPTER I.

The Author's Parentage—Education—Conscription—First and Second Desertion—Recapture—Imprisonment—Voyage to Dalmatia—Sea Storm—the Montenegrini—Flight into Albania, and Adventures there—Embarkation—and Passage to Alexandria.

THE lives of some men, neither distinguished for worldly advantages, nor eminent talents, may yet, from singular turns of fortune, and by the association of remarkable places and events with their

story, supply such a field of amusement, and even instruction, as can hardly be looked for in those of a more uniform tenor.

My own life may perhaps appear to be of this number. In publishing it to the world, let me hope that I shall not be suspected of assuming to myself any of the requisite qualifications of an author, beyond that of speaking the truth: what has happened to myself, and what I have seen with my own eyes, that I shall endeavour to relate; but am fully aware that the same incidents, and the same scenes, had they fallen in the way of one possessed of more knowledge and information than I am, might have furnished a work of a very different description from any that I can pretend to offer.

My name is Giovanni Finati; I was born a subject of the pontifical states, at Ferrara, not indeed of rich, but of respectable, parents; my father had a small landed property with a house upon it, at Zello, on the river Tartaro; and he had another house belonging to him at Trecenta, so that his income was sufficient for the decent maintenance of a limited family. He was tenderly attached to my mother, and I was the eldest of their four children.

I will take up no further time in enlarging upon family details, but pass at once to what concerns myself and my own adventures.

So soon as I was ten years old, my parents decided upon the profession which I was to follow, and did this, as is but too often the case, without looking at all to the

bent of my natural disposition or inclinations.

For I had an uncle, my father's brother, who was in the church, a very sincere and excellent man, but extremely bigoted; and, as it was decided that I should be trained up to the same vocation, I was in a manner made over to him, and my education committed entirely to his care. It was to no purpose that I had conceived, from my very earliest years, the strongest repugnance to that mode of life, and to the society and habits of priests and ecclesiastics of all sorts, since those who had the control over me remaining fixed in their determination, there was no help for it, and I could do no otherwise than submit; yet my distaste was every day increased by the pains that my uncle bestowed to

instruct me in all that course of frivolous and empty ceremonials and mysteries, which form a principal feature in the training up of a priest for the Romish church.

All the powers of entreaty were exhausted; I saw no hope of escape, and finding that severity and punishment were all that I gained by resistance, I passed several years in a sort of sullen conformity to my uncle's wishes.

At last, just as I had completed my eighteenth year, a very different scene of life unexpectedly opened upon me.

Italy * had fallen into the power of the

* Sir Walter Scott says, "The northern states of Italy had followed the example of France through all her change of models: they had become republican in a directorial form, when Napoleon's sword conquered them from the Austrians; had changed to an establishment

French, for though it was still nominally independent, and retained the form of a government of its own, yet it was in fact become no better than a province.

The people felt most acutely both the weight and the humiliation of this foreign yoke, yet at the same time saw that they had no power of shaking it off. In no point did it press upon them more heavily than in the continual conscriptions, for no sooner was a son grown to be of an age to assist his parents, and to contribute to their support, than he was forcibly torn from them, and sent off into the most distant countries, at the will of Buonaparte,

similar to the consular, when that was instituted in Paris."—*Life of Buonaparte*, vol. 5. The beginning of 1805 seems to be the period referred to: it cannot possibly be later than April, since Napoleon was crowned king of Italy in that month.

who now reigned as master over almost all Europe.

My father and mother, who were people of domestic and devout habits, received with horror the intelligence that my name appeared in the list of conscripts: there seemed to be an end at once of that religious scheme of life which they had been laying out for me from my infancy, and I was, in all human probability, to be lost to them for ever; they pictured to themselves and to me all the miseries, and dangers, and disasters to which I should be exposed, and determined, therefore, on making any sacrifices in order to keep me at home.

No representation was left untried with those in authority, but none was sufficient to get me exempted.

At last, the utmost that could be obtained, was, that I might be permitted to provide a substitute; but even to this was annexed the condition, that in case of his desertion, I must again come forward, and make good his place in the ranks.

My father found means to pay the price that was required, and was well content to retain me upon those terms; but from that time he never ceased urging me to think seriously of entering at once upon that profession which he had chalked out for me, and which would furnish the only exemption from a continual liability to the calls of this conscript army.

Though I felt in me but little disposition or calling towards that way of life which he so fervently pressed upon me, yet I entertained his propositions, at least to

appearance, lest I should seem to be ungrateful for his kindness.

The substitute was provided, and marched off so soon as required by his regiment, and I remained quietly in the bosom of my family, always, however, under the strict superintendence of my uncle, the priest.

Five months were soon passed; and we were now far advanced into the year 1805, when the news came, that the substitute who had been provided in my stead had deserted.

This was a terrible blow to my poor father, and I could read at once in his eyes that he looked upon me from that moment as on a child that was lost to him for ever.

No sooner was the fact certified to the military commandant, than the regular warrant under the conscription was issued against me, and the most diligent search commenced; but I was nowhere to be found; for, feeling an abhorrence to this compulsory mode of service, I had, by my father's wish and connivance, on the very first intimation, withdrawn secretly from the house, and was lurking in different hiding-places of the neighbourhood, both day and night.

When the government saw that all attempts to find me were ineffectual, measures were taken for driving my family, by persecution, to deliver me up.

The first which was resorted to, was the quartering of troops upon our house,

whose number was augmented every day, for the purpose of completely exhausting it, and reducing it to poverty.

But my father's firmness was such, that he submitted to this without a murmur, thinking that the government might be wearied out, and would, perhaps, desist, when the means were found to fail of their object; but he was mistaken, and exasperation was the only consequence.

Accordingly, my father and my younger brother were seized, and thrown into prison, where they were debarred from all communication; the property was confiscated; and I thus saw the utter ruin of my whole family was become inevitable, if I did not, of my own act, go and deliver myself up to the authorities.

Besides the call of duty, which seemed

in this case to be imperative upon me, two considerations served a little to confirm and console me in taking the step; the one, that if I disliked the profession (under the circumstances) in which I was about to embark, I disliked equally, at least, if not more, that which had been designed for me at home, and which I could no longer in decency or in gratitude have declined; and then again, as I was going to serve by compulsion, I should feel bound to that service by no ties of honour or conscience, and who could say how soon some opportunity for desertion and escape might not present itself?

These several reflections and motives had all of them their weight with me in turn, and I therefore made up my mind to a voluntary surrender.

My appearance had the immediate effect

of setting free my father and brother, and of releasing the property from sequestration.

I myself was sent to the military depôt, with the strictest orders that no intercourse or communication should be permitted with my family; and after five days of close confinement there, was marched off with the other fresh conscripts, without being even indulged with the melancholy satisfaction of a farewell.

Our destination was for Milan, where we were to be trained and exercised, and I suffered severely during the first days of this march, having been from my childhood but very little accustomed to fatigue and hardship; but being young and naturally active, I afterwards found little difficulty in learning the duties of a soldier, the drill

to which the recruits were subjected proving hardly so severe at first as I had expected. I belonged to a division of the army which was manœuvred and inspected once in every week, on a large open space at the distance of little less than ten Italian miles, and the arms and accoutrements which we were obliged to carry with us weighed seventy-two pounds: this was fatiguing, but I got accustomed to it, as a man becomes inured to almost any thing by habit; but the nature of the life itself was so irksome and intolerable to me, that I was never looking forward to anything else than to the moment which I should seize for withdrawing myself from it.

The year 1806 was drawing towards its close, when we received orders to march for the Tyrol, and we obeyed our instruc-

tions with so much promptitude and diligence, that, by continual forced marches, we very soon reached the place named in our instructions.

Here our corps took up its quarters for some time; and as we were in a new and intricate country, I thought the opportunity a good one for effecting my desertion, which I did, not without having turned it over and over in my mind, but yet without having formed any settled ulterior plan. This was in the last week of that year.

No sooner had I taken the step, than I found that there was neither place nor person that I could trust by the way; my uniform was in itself proof sufficient that I was a deserter, and I was in constant apprehension of falling into the hands of those who would be searching after me:

this made it impossible for me to shew myself by day, but all my nights were passed in traversing the deep forests and wilds of that country.

In the dead of the last of many such nights, I found myself arrived once more within the limits of the Ferrarese territory: where the thoughts of being so near to my native home, and to the kind authors of my being, affected me more than I can express, and I never rested till I found them.

They had been in great grief and perplexity at receiving no tidings from me; and now, upon our meeting, loaded me with every mark of the tenderest affection.

I remained quietly with them some days without the fact of my desertion being known to any body; but so soon as the official intelligence of it was received, it

became once more my fate to witness the sufferings and persecutions of my family upon my account. The confiscation was renewed, and my younger brother was peremptorily required to be sent to serve in my room: so that everything connected with me, and dearest to me, was thrown into a state of the greatest misery.

I was sorry now for my rashness, though the consequences of a second desertion were so serious that I durst not come forward, but took the utmost pains to elude detection. I concealed myself in places the least frequented of the country round, sometimes lying in the sheepfolds and outhouses, with the animals and cattle, and sometimes in ditches and holes in the earth; so that a life of wretchedness and privation was all that I had gained by my escape.

Time, which discovers everything, at last brought to light the place where I was lurking; and there, some soldiers, sent for the purpose, suddenly laid hands on me, and made me their prisoner. I was become an object of the utmost military rigour, and, with handcuffs upon me, was dragged or driven through the streets of my native town, where I had been brought up and had lived so respectably, and to which I had returned but so few days before with such feelings of eagerness and attachment.

As soon as my apprehension became known, my father, mother, brother, and sisters, all in the deepest affliction, came to the prison where I was lodged, and filled it with lamentations and regrets. My poor mother, seeing that all hope of having me

with her any more was at an end, threw herself on my neck, bathing it with tears, and praying fervently at the same time to the Almighty that he would at least preserve me for better days,—while it was plain, both from her words and looks, how fully she was aware that my offence was now capital.

All that day was passed as miserably as it is possible to conceive, being but one protracted scene of parting; and afterwards, when I was left alone at night, my own feelings and fears returned upon me with fresh bitterness.

On the next morning I was to set out under an escort for Milan; whither twenty-two other deserters were dragged besides myself, coupled two and two—a cheerless company, and exposed to every taunt and

menace by the way that was best calculated to increase our terror. Every night we were lodged in the common gaol of the town where we halted; and so, after a march of much suffering and wretchedness, we arrived at our first destination, where we were kept close prisoners, and within a few days sent off again, each to the division of the army to which he respectively belonged. The regiment from which I had deserted was now at Venice, and accordingly that was the point to which I was despatched; and never shall I forget the dreadful state of suspense under which I made that whole journey, with a mind continually filled with the most awful forebodings. Indeed I can hardly say what it was that supported me, harassed thus at once both in body and mind; but I have always felt a natural

sort of elasticity of spirit, which is a great blessing under all circumstances, and which I have never had more occasion for than during the dismal march of which I am now speaking.

It must have been in the year 1807 that I reached Venice, where it so happened that Buonaparte himself, now King of Italy, was at that time *; and it was, as I believe, owing entirely to this circumstance that my worst forebodings were not realized, and that my life was spared: a sort of general act of grace (so far as commutation of punishment) being considered a compliment due to the sovereign's presence, that no execution might seem to

* Bourrienne says, Duroc gave him an account "d'une voyage qu'avait fait Napoléon vers le milieu de Novembre, 1807, pour visiter l'état de Venise," &c.: his stay, however, must have been very short in that city.

damp the general festivity; so that I was not subjected to the utmost rigours of military law, as I should otherwise have been.

This seemed to me almost a transition from death to life, and I have looked back ever since to that epoch as to a kind of second birthday.

It must not, however, be inferred that I escaped punishment altogether, for, on the contrary, it was immediate, though mitigated so far as life was concerned. Early in the morning, all the regiment to which I belonged was paraded; and after my head had been shaven close, in sight of them all, a particular dress, much like those which common convicts wear, was put upon me, and I was loaded, not with heavy chains only, but with a great weight also attached to them, which I was com-

pelled to drag behind, as I was goaded in derision by the subaltern officers along the line, from whence I was conducted back, with every mark of contempt and disgrace, to the barracks, and directed to be lodged there for two months in strict confinement, without being once suffered to move out of them; and during all that time there was no office, the meanest and most laborious, that was not thrown upon me, as matter of punishment and degradation.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte had long since been called away to a distance; but orders were, in due course of time, received from him, that all the forces now in Venice should, without delay, be embarked for Dalmatia, and the point fixed on for their destination was Spalatro*, upon the con-

* The name of Spalatro (so famous for the retirement

fines of the petty republic of Ragusa, which was at this period groaning under the oppression and extortions of the celebrated General Marmont, who commanded there, and was exacting the unwilling homage of what remained of that little fallen state.

My regiment was to be embarked among the rest, and we had but a short time allowed for getting ourselves in readiness.

of Dioclesian, and for the ruins of his palace) is pronounced short in the second syllable; and though this may seem contrary both to the sonorous march of the Italian language, and to the quantity of the original Latin name, yet two other examples, exactly analogous, are presented upon the Italian shores of the Adriatic, in the names of Tarănto and Otrănto, both so pronounced. Horace Walpole has told us that he selected the latter name for his romance only from seeing it upon the map; and as he adopted it rather by the eye than by the ear, it may reasonably be suspected that he would not have chosen it had he been aware how it is pronounced on the spot.

There was just then a great deal of sickness amongst us; and, owing to the paucity of the transports, and the multitude of the troops which was to be conveyed in them, nothing could exceed the state of inconvenience and confinement to which we were subjected on board.

This was the first time that I had ever been at sea in my life, and I underwent my full share of the torment of sea-sickness, so as to find myself extremely weak and reduced from it.

The vessel in which I was, touched at an island of Dalmatia to procure water, the great consumption on board having already exhausted all the stock brought with us from Venice. I felt comforted by the sight of land, and, dreary as this place was, and without any sign of an inhabitant,

was in that disposition of mind to have thought myself happy, had it only been permitted to me to fix and to finish my days there.

Several of my comrades seem to have yielded to some impulse of the sort, for they went on shore on the pretext of assisting the crew in the provision of water, and never returned to us; it is probable that they may have found some means of making their way from thence to Trieste, and so entering into the Austrian service.

I myself felt strongly the temptation of seeking the same adventure, not from any particular zeal for the German cause, but because it appeared to me that I might lead a life of less disquiet and hardship in that service, than in this restless and conscript army.

The attempt, however, was for the present quite impossible upon my part, my strength being so reduced that I could not even hold myself upright; I remained therefore on board.

This island is situated not far from Rovigno, on the north-western side of the small gulf of Quarner: that gulf consequently remained to be crossed, which is of a peculiarly dangerous navigation in the winter season, during the prevalence of the violent wind called Bora, which sweeps downwards upon it from the northward.

We got under weigh, imprudently enough, with every sign of an approaching tempest, and had proceeded but a very few miles from the island, so as scarce to have reached the open part of the gulf, before the gale rose at once to a most

furious height, every wave breaking over our vessel.

The captain ordered all the troops below, and, fastening down the hatches upon us, considered as to the best chance of saving the ship.

The Bora of the Adriatic is a wind of such a degree of violence, as is almost inconceivable to any person who has never been exposed to it, and the scantiness of sea-room there makes it peculiarly perilous, for, if a ship is unable to hold her course, and is driven before it, she is sure to be wrecked upon some part of the marshes of Ancona, where, from the shallows, and shelving nature of the coast, there can be little or no hope of any lives being saved. This consideration determined our captain at once to endeavour

rather at all risks to weather out the storm in the open sea, than, by trying to make for any port, to expose us to the peril of being stranded on a lee shore.

The storm continued two whole days and nights without intermission, and when upon the third it began to abate, our transport, though saved by the firmness and prudence of our captain, appeared little better than a wreck upon the water, masts, sails, rigging, being all either torn and broken in pieces, or wholly carried away.

When the hatches were set open, a new and greater scene of disaster presented itself; terror, sea-sickness, hunger, exhaustion with some, suffocation, and the consequences of confined air with more, who were all previously invalids, had taken

such effect, that thirty-one of the soldiers were lying dead below, and their corpses, stripped of their uniforms, were thrown into the sea: many of the living, also, were scarce distinguishable from them, and could not long have survived; but we found that we were near Spalatro, and so made shift to gain that harbour, where we joined the remainder of the regiment, who had all supposed us lost in the passage, and now looked upon our escape as being little less than a miracle, as in fact it was.

Only two days after our landing, General Marmont came over: and after reviewing the whole reinforcement, gave orders that we should be distributed so as to form small garrisons in the neighbouring islands.

That of Lesina was assigned to the corps

to which I belonged; but my own state of health not being such as to admit of the possibility of any removal for the present, I was sent to the hospital, and there left in charge of the army physicians, by whom I was shamefully neglected, as seemed to be their system; and I suffered, during my illness, every sort of privation and discomfort.

I remained thus two months a patient in the hospital at Spalatro, and at the expiration of that term was directed to join my regiment at Lesina, which had been stationary there all the while. I proceeded accordingly, and did duty with them there about four weeks, when fresh orders came that we were to remove to the Bocca-di-Cattaro, which lies to the south of Ragusa, and has something in its aspect very

desolate and romantic, on account of the extreme ruggedness and boldness of the mountains which stand close about it.

These mountains are the last retreat of that wild and lawless race called the Montenegrini, the greater part of whom are no others than originally subjects and citizens of the old republic of Ragusa, who, feeling keenly both the losses and degradation of their country, under the French, were resolved, in their own persons at least, to make an experiment of resistance. They began by committing great cruelties and excesses; and, aided and encouraged by the intrigues of the Austrian government, wreaked their vengeance, in the first instance, upon such of their own countrymen as were more pacific, or opposed to their views.

The commerce of their little state had been so considerable, that they could count at one time three hundred large merchant vessels belonging to their port; all these they burned, and, not content with so doing, proceeded to sack and plunder all the principal villages, so that Marmont could only be said to reign over the ashes of that country.

This desperate body had afterwards retired up into the fastnesses, and fixing there, and becoming incorporated with a native race of hardy and warlike mountaineers, were constantly upon the watch to annoy and obstruct every operation that was carrying on below.

In our own case, no sooner was it perceived that troops were attempting to land, than these Montenegrini came flocking down, and, posting themselves nearer to

the base of their mountains, begun firing upon us; and when, after considerable loss, we had effected our landing, their efforts were not less violent to prevent our advance towards Cattaro; for they judged rightly, that we were sent for their destruction, and to hunt them out, if possible, from their last asylum. We succeeded at length in penetrating to the town, but it was with the sacrifice of a great many lives; and such of our men as were taken prisoners were treated with great inhumanity, being first mutilated in their limbs, and then exposed to perish, or to be devoured by the wild beasts.

At Cattaro, we were appointed to take up our quarters for some time. I had here a relapse of my former illness, and was again in the hospital for ten days. So soon

as my strength was restored, I again fell into the ranks, and bore my part in all the enterprises in which my regiment was engaged; which were coupled with all the horrors of such a civil war, and a system of proscription and extermination. I shudder when I think of some of them.

We next received orders to go forward for Budoa *, a city of high antiquity, that is at no great distance from Cattaro, inhabited by a very quiet race of people, who saw the sad spectacle of French bayonets, for the first time, upon our coming amongst them.

We continued in Budoa four months, during which nothing remarkable occurred,

* Budoa is a strong sea-port and a bishop's see; it sustained a siege by the Turks in 1686. It is 30 miles S.E. of Ragusa.

beyond several encounters, more or less general, with the Montenegrini.

During these four months, I had made acquaintance with several merchants from Scutari, in Turkish Albania, who traded from time to time with Budoa; with one more especially, I had grown very intimate (he speaking the Italian language fluently); and I confided to him the project which I had long cherished, of deserting from the army; and even further, let him into the secret that I was not alone in my scheme, for that there were no less than sixteen of us who were all of the same mind, including our sergeant and his wife in the number. I threw myself altogether upon his kindness and indulgence, and assured him how deeply the obligation would be felt by all of us, if he

could find or supply any means to facilitate our escape.

My friend shook his head, and answered at once, that to assist us, and become party in any way to our desertion, was quite impossible; French spies were so active in all the neighbouring provinces, that he should be sure of being detected and denounced, and that the consequences might be absolute ruin to him: we must not, therefore, delude ourselves by counting upon his vessel.

When he found, however, that it was in vain to endeavour to dissuade us from seeking other means, out of the sincere regard which he seemed to feel, he could not refrain from suggesting to me, that, looking to the localities of our present position, it appeared to him that it would be much more

feasible for us to make our flight by land; and, after expressing this opinion, he went on to describe exactly the track which we ought to take, and the point at which it would be best to pass the confines between Dalmatia and Albania. Should this course be adopted, he recommended that we should throw ourselves at once into the hands of the Turkish authorities, from whom he felt persuaded that we should meet with consideration and good treatment.

I repeated this advice of the Albanian merchant faithfully to all those in our secret, by whom it was generally approved; and, all remaining quite steady in their purpose of desertion, as a preparatory step we swore fidelity to one another, and that we would rather be content to die, than either betray our purpose, or submit to serve any longer in the French army.

No sooner did the day dawn which had been previously agreed upon for our escape, than we were each of us busied in laying together all that belonged to us, or would be likely to be wanted by the way, taking every precaution to do this unobserved by such of our comrades as knew nothing of our intentions.

Precisely at noon all met at a place that had been determined on: we were all Italians, sixteen in number, including the serjeant's wife, and each of the men carried with him all his arms and accoutrements.

We lost no time in proceeding upon our way, and the consciousness that, in every yard that we advanced we had by so much recovered a comparative state of liberty and free-will, made the toil and fatigue appear light to us.

We soon got confused, and being quite ignorant of our direction, were fain to climb to the top of the great mountain which overlooks Budoa: we reached it before the sun was down, and peeping cautiously from thence upon the city, so commanded it as to be able to discern almost every thing that was passing there; amongst the rest, we could very plainly distinguish the muster and roll-call of the troops, and even thought that we could perceive the bustle of surprise and inquiry that was occasioned in our own company, by the circumstance of so many of us not appearing. Some of us, eagerly intent upon this scene, and others more usefully engaged in taking accurate observation, as to the road which we should follow, all remained fixed upon that elevated spot till it grew dark: we

then began our descent upon the further side, and made onwards for Albania; walking at our quickest pace, and about midnight had already reached the frontier.

A French outport was stationed there; and no sooner was our approach perceived, than we were hailed with the watchword of *qui vive?* For a moment we felt as if all was lost, but some one of our party no sooner heard the challenge repeated for the second time, than he presented his musket, and shot the centinel dead upon the spot. the report alarmed the remainder of the outpost, and they all flew to their arms, and supposing us to be, as we really were, deserters, they did their utmost to arrest us, or to turn us back.

The night was so dark, that the two parties could hardly discriminate one another,

especially as all wore the same uniform; the firing, however, was very brisk upon both sides, and the result very disastrous, for, though by some good fortune, not one of the deserting party was hurt, five of the French piquet were left dead, and we have reason to think that several others were left wounded.

The advantage, in short, was so much upon our side, that we passed on unmolested into the Albanese territory, where the absence of any corresponding Turkish guard greatly facilitated our pressing forward; so that the sun had not risen above an hour, when we came in sight, first of the castle, and then of the town of Antivări.

The former of these stands on a commanding height; and as soon as some of the Turkish garrison within observed us

approaching, and that we were armed and accoutred as French soldiers, an alarm was given, and all instantly became upon the alert; for Antivări, at that time, had a large force in it, and was well provided with ammunition: a resident Pasha had the command of it, with the charge of watching and keeping check upon the French operations in Dalmatia, who was no sooner apprized of our appearance in the distance, than he ordered out a considerable body of troops, and placing himself at their head, advanced towards us in order to learn our intentions and object.

We could distinguish the gate opening, and this armed body, in gay colours, coming towards us; and, since every thing that we feared was from behind, we were so far from looking to this with any apprehen-

sion, that the sight inspired us with a full confidence in our safety, and we ran eagerly forward to meet the cavalcade.

But this impetuosity on our part was altogether misconstrued, and supposed to proceed from very opposite intentions, so that the Turkish body drew up as if ready for an encounter, and many shots were discharged at us.

We were thus soon made sensible of our error, and resorted to a more prudent course, in laying down our arms upon the ground, and waving our handkerchiefs above our heads in token of peace, which we thought would be sufficiently intelligible. However there seemed still to remain some doubts and misgivings, and the large body moved forward very cautiously and slowly towards our small one.

Not a man amongst them, as it happened, could speak either French or Italian; so when they came within pistol-shot of us, the two parties stood stupidly gazing upon one another, our first experiment having taught *us* that there would be great risk in moving from our place.

In this dumb-show we remained fixed for some minutes, till a Turkish officer arrived, who, having some little knowledge of European languages, had been sent for into the town to interpret between us.

We soon explained to him that we were deserters, and that we wished to find an asylum amongst the Turks.

He carried our message to the Pasha, who no sooner heard it, than he beckoned us all forward, and received our mute signs of respect and obedience with an air of

kindness and satisfaction, and gave a protecting nod, as if in assent to our wishes.

While we stood there before him, an object of great curiosity to his whole suite and to all who were collected, he called again to him the officer who interpreted, and asked us, through him, if we were hungry, as in truth we were, and we told him so. Upon which he himself gave orders that we should be supplied with every thing that we could possibly have need of.

After that, we made our entry into the town, the people shouting before us that we were "soldiers who had deserted from the infidel army in Dalmatia," so that a great sensation and a sort of feeling of triumph were excited, the people of every rank crowding forward to see us as we passed along.

The serjeant's wife was immediately set apart from the rest, it being considered quite contrary to Turkish usages that a woman should remain in the society of fifteen men. I do not well know what became of her afterwards, so that I take my leave of her here, and pursue the thread of my own story.

As for myself, and my fourteen comrades, we were all lodged in the principal mosque of Antivări, and there liberally supplied with all that we could want.

It was a large pile, and seemed to be the work of different ages, but the greater part of it had, in early times, been a Christian church, since converted to the purposes of Mahometan worship; and this now became our abode.

I shall not pursue the history of any of

my deserter-companions further than it may, of necessity, be mingled with my own.

It is a circumstance not to be omitted, that, whilst we continued in this mosque, once at least in every day, if not oftener, we were visited by a person who seemed to be high in authority. He could scarce converse with us at all; but, by his prepossessing aspect and kind manners, gained our confidence and esteem very much.

We did not comprehend the object of his interviews quite at first, but soon began to perceive that they had reference to our religion, which we were thus daily invited to renounce, and to become converts to the creed of the country.

Full as we were at that time of true Italian zeal, these overtures made not the

smallest impression upon us; we felt indignant at the very suggestion of renouncing our faith, and encouraged one another reciprocally in a resolution rather to die than to submit to it; nay, I verily believe that we were prepared to have done so, had measures of direct compulsion been resorted to; but the government took a less summary course with us.

When we were found to persist in our determination, we were soon given to understand that we must look for a very different sort of treatment from what we had hitherto experienced, since it was but reasonable, we were told, that if we would not become Mussulmen, we could not hope to be sharers in their privileges and advantages, but must be prepared for a life of hardship and privation.

Threats had no more effect upon us than bribes and promises, and on its being reported to the Pasha that there seemed no reasonable hopes of our conforming, he gave orders that from that moment we should be considered and treated as common slaves.

We were accordingly all sent out of the mosque, to work at the quarries, which are not far from the city. We were not employed in the cutting, but in the carrying of the stones, which we were compelled to lift upon our shoulders, and so to convey them, like beasts of burthen, all the way up to the castle, in which there was a wall building at the time.

The labour of this was intolerable, and as our clothes were worn out by it more and more every day, the rough and heavy

blocks began to press at last on our bare backs, which were sore from the load.

We had dragged on this wretched mode of existence during three months, without any spark of compassion having touched those who were set over us; our spirit was broken, and our strength exhausted, so that it seemed impossible for us to persevere in this course, and live.

Wearied out at last, our serjeant one day opened his mind to us. He pointed out (which there was no need to do) the wretchedness of our present condition, and that to continue in it must inevitably shorten our lives. Our own country was closed against us; we had therefore no hope as Christians, while every thing was held out to us if we would conform to the religion of that country which we had

chosen for ourselves, and which was willing to adopt us. The Mahometans believed, as we do, in a God; and upon examination we might find the differences from our mother church to be less than we had imagined; or at the worst, we might still retain our own creed, and put up our own prayers in our hearts.

It is wonderful what a few bold words will do, especially when they address themselves to existing circumstances, and to fellow-feelings.

I am persuaded that, up to that moment, there was not one amongst us who would not have suffered death rather than entertain a thought of adopting, even outwardly, any other faith than that in which he was born; and, indeed, this feeling had shewn itself so strongly, that it enabled us

not only to endure, but even to submit patiently to, our hardships and sufferings.

Yet no sooner were these words uttered, than, after looking silently upon one another for a moment, without further persuasion upon his part, or further reasoning on the subject, or objection offered upon ours, we all came at once to the determination of professing to be Mahometans.

Notice of this was communicated to the Pasha, who no sooner heard it, than he gave all the necessary orders respecting us.

We were immediately released from the laborious drudgery of the quarries, and were conducted into a mosque, where the Mufti, pronouncing some mystic words or prayers before us, and an exhortation in a language which we did not understand, we were received as Mussulmen; though I believe most of us continued in our

hearts as good Catholics as we had been before.

This change carried with it the necessity for a change of name also; and I fixed upon that of Mahomet.

As for the rite of circumcision, it was remitted to us for the present, till, by becoming better acquainted with the language, we should be greater proficients in our new form of religion.

No sooner had our recantation been made, than all the officers, in the highest posts of the Pasha's army, were desirous of having, each of them, one of us in his service; and, though to be little, if at all, better than servants and attendants, promised no very brilliant career, yet, after what we had lately been enduring, any life, exempt from hard labour and bodily suffering, appeared one of comparative hap-

piness; and, to do the Turks justice, they are generally kind and indulgent masters.

Mine was a native of Scutari, and of a good family; he held the rank of a general-officer in the garrison; his age was twenty-four; and never was a young man more favoured by nature, or gifted with a better disposition.

He exacted from me little or no other service beyond the presenting of his pipe to him, which is a regular office in all the principal establishments of the East.

He took at once a great affection for me, distinguishing me so much above all his other attendants, that it became a source of great heart-burnings and jealousies amongst them; and, on my part, I could not but feel grateful for his kindness to me, and eager to anticipate all his wishes. Every day he lavished upon me fresh

proofs of his regard, and honoured me in the sight of all the rest, by clothing me more richly than any of them: and no where is the dress more costly, or more beautiful, or more considered, than it is in Albania. His confidence even went so far as to permit me the entrance of his harem.

This harem included ten females of different countries, all of them young, and all more or less attractive, and the merriest creatures that I ever saw.

At first I was, if not an indifferent, at least an innocent spectator, and was amused with their playfulness, without paying much regard to their persons; but my young heart soon caught fire, and I began to brood over a passion which, as it had no vent, began to make me very unhappy; at length, feeling that I could smother and contain it no longer, I found means to re-

veal it to its object, who was a principal favourite with my master.

She was a Georgian; and her name was Fatima. At first I neither saw her apart from the others, nor could speak her language, yet looks passed between us that were sufficiently understood; and we soon sought and found opportunities of meeting alone.

Nothing had been left me to wish for, when the garrison received orders to remove from Antivari to Scutari; which, being my master's native city, it was there that he made all that parade of magnificence and expense which is deemed indispensable in a man of rank in the East. But though his suite became more numerous, I continued with him not less an object of favour than at first; and I found, also, that the change

of place had occasioned no change in the affections of Fatima.

But the envy of all the rest of the establishment became combined against me, and so they found means to speak unfavourably of me to my master; and, though nothing was proved, I soon found myself for ever shut out from his good graces.

Thus deprived altogether of his confidence, and almost debarred from his presence, nothing remained but to submit to the hard and menial office which he was pleased to assign me, which was no other than that of hewing wood, and fetching it from a mountain at the distance of six miles, for the daily consumption of his house; a beast of burthen was allowed me for the load; but it was a dismal errand,

without any companion or comfort by the way.

My degradation in the household did not, however, affect the preference which Fatima had conceived for me; she succeeded even, occasionally, in stealing into my room, and sometimes when, from my being called away to some drudgery, she did not find me there, would contrive to leave new linen for me, or some other little present or token.

I began to get accustomed to this new mode of life, and even not to dislike it, when new difficulties arose; for Fatima proved with child, and our intercourse seemed to be more than suspected.

Turning the matter in my mind, it sometimes occurred to me, that the best end that this could come to was, that I should

be compelled by the law to marry her, for that is what I should have wished; but then imagination, always making risks and difficulties appear to be greater than they are, made me dread the operation of circumcision *, to which I conceived that I should, in that case, infallibly be subjected, and which I had hitherto shifted off from me.

Neither my wishes nor my fears upon these points had, perhaps, any good foundation in Turkish laws or usages; but I had no person to consult, and was obliged,

* Ali Bey entertained such an extravagant idea of the indispensable necessity of this rite, "even to travellers in Mahometan countries," that he says, "I look upon the safety of their journey as almost impossible unless they have previously submitted to the rite;" which is far from being the case; and, as it is sometimes dangerous to grown persons, I apprehend very few renegades do submit to it.

therefore, to rely upon the suggestions of my own imagination and conjectures. Yet one thing I know past all doubt, which might alone have been sufficient to have decided me, and that was, that my master *could* take, if he *would*, a very different, and a much more summary course of proceeding with me, than that of making me marry the girl. I had the example before my eyes of one of my renegade comrades, whose case presented an exact parallel to my own, who, upon his being discovered by his master, was carried by him before a judge, and condemned and executed.

My own situation was become too critical for me to resist such a warning as this, and I came to the resolution of flying from Scutari.

I had many acquaintance among the

merchants who brought their goods thither from the port of Dolcigno; several of these were now in the city, and their vessels lying in that harbour till they should return to Alexandria, which was their chief place of traffic. I considered that some one of these would afford me the best opportunity for getting out of the country, and escaping from the dangers that seemed to be preparing for me.

Whilst I was deliberating in which of them I should confide, it so happened that I fell in with my original friend the Captain-merchant, whom I had known and consulted at Budoa, and who had there been the first prompter of our plan of escape over-land.

Scutari was his own country, and he seemed extremely surprised, and even a

little piqued, to find me so impatient to quit it, till, relying upon his friendship for me, I partly developed to him my reasons; and he then consented, upon the understanding that all should be arranged very secretly, to give me a passage to Alexandria; so that, by a singular fatality, the very same vessel that I had first looked to as the means of flying *to* that country, was destined to be the means of my flying *from* it.

From the moment that this was fixed and agreed on, I became as impatient to leave Scutari as I had been, until lately, contented, and even happy in remaining there,—so strongly had an impression of the necessity of the case taken hold of my mind.

To do the Albanians justice, I had found

much good and received much kindness amongst them; they are but little improved by education, but are possessed of excellent natural qualities; their disposition is quick and fiery, but feeling and sensitive, and no less strong and faithful in their attachments; their great failing is an extreme greediness after money, so that, as they are not sufficiently advanced in civilization to make their gains by ingenuity or handicraft, nor sufficiently steady, perhaps, for regular and fixed habits of industry, they almost all follow the roving professions either of merchants, or of occasional robbers; leading a very restless life, and often enlisting from time to time in the armies of other provinces.

Their appetite for gold, in some instances, is quite childish, and yet not the

less to be deplored in its results; I heard one cited, in which an European traveller was shot for the sake of the brass buttons on his coat, which were ignorantly mistaken for the precious metal. The murderer was touched with remorse when he saw what he had done, and was found grieving bitterly over the stranger's body.

The women partake of the same tone of character, the same virtues, and the same failings as the men; they have little acquirement or artificial polish, but great natural courtesy, and are permitted more intercourse with strangers, and more liberty, than in other parts of Turkey. They are women of an active spirit and a masculine courage, so that they can occasionally use the firelock almost as well as their husbands. I am here speaking, it will be

understood, rather of the wives of the peasantry and mountaineers.

Upon the whole, they are a people that deserve from me every expression of kindness and good-will, and I should be ungrateful if I ever could forget the good treatment and affection that I received amongst them.

Yet the die was cast, and I saw more and more the urgent necessity for my departure. So the resolution being once taken, I was glad to fortify myself in it, and eagerly seized upon every consideration or prospect that could reconcile me to putting it in execution.

Amongst others, I received such brilliant and high-coloured accounts of Egypt, from all with whom I spoke on the subject, that I felt a great curiosity and wish to

be there. Albanians were daily flocking thither to the army, and sent home the most inviting descriptions both of the cheapness of the living, and the regularity and largeness of their pay. Wars were also continually talked of, that were to be waged against I knew not what provinces, full of gold and spices, and where cities were to be taken that would send every man home rich to his own country. With tales such as these, which I heard continually, my imagination became heated, and I began to dream of riches and adventure.

I had no money to pay for my passage, and so could only rely on the disinterested kindness of my friend, the merchant. He did not, however, fail me, and I promised him, in gratitude for his assistance, that he should have, upon my arrival in Alex-

andria, both my pistols and my long dagger, which were very handsomely mounted in wrought silver.

It was in the month of March, of the year 1809, that, taking the utmost precautions of secrecy, I embarked with him, and sailed from the port; not indeed, without a severe pang at the reflection that I was leaving, and probably for ever, the being whom I had loved with the tenderest passion, and who loved me in return. But to stay with her would have been fatal to both, to carry her with me was impracticable, and I never could summon the courage to bid her farewell; so I parted from her without explanation: but her image was so present to me on board, that it was all that I seemed to see, or to take leave of in the coasts of Albania.

I stifled all expression of these feelings, and endeavoured to divert my attention from them, by observing what presented itself in our voyage.

We passed under the Ionian Islands, taking all in their order from Corfu to Cerigo, and I was much struck and delighted with the varied outline of some parts of the Morea, in the distance.

We proceeded thence into the Archipelago, and so through an infinity of little islands, the steerage between which is occasionally very intricate and difficult.

A cross wind obliged us to put into the port of Rhodes, but our stay there was too short to admit of my seeing much of that beautiful and celebrated island *.

* The scenery about the port of Rhodes has very considerable beauty, but not so the rest of the island.

From Rhodes we had the wind in our favour and the weather moderate, so that within a few days we could discover the low shores of Egypt in the distance; and I still recollect, with delight, the moment when Pompey's pillar was first pointed out to me as marking the position of Alexandria, where (after passing close in front of the bay of Aboukir, the scene of that famous sea-fight between the French and the English) we came safely to anchor, notwithstanding some trifling difficulties in getting within the harbour.

Here a new scene of life opened upon me: the wars that I became engaged in, the events which I witnessed, the sufferings that I underwent, the sources of satisfaction that I found, and, last of all, those long and distant journeys that it was my

fortune, to be engaged in, both in Asia and Africa, will furnish matter for the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Enlistment in Mahomet Ali's service—Ophthalmia—Cairo—Feuds between Turkish and Albanian soldiery—Successes against the Mamelukes—Preparations for the War in Arabia—Massacre of the Mamelukes—Author's Marriage—Thieves in the Camp—Fatal mistake there—and consequences—Marching orders under Tossoon Pasha.

On board the vessel which brought me to Alexandria was an Albanian officer, who pressed me over and over again, during the voyage, to enlist in the Pasha of Egypt's service, under his command; an overture which I was at first disposed to decline, till, reflecting that I had neither friends nor acquaintance in that strange country, nor any means of subsistence, it seemed best to avail myself at once of the oppor

tunity as it offered, and to engage myself with him, which I accordingly did. So that, after having, at the risk of life, withdrawn myself from one military service, here I was, out of hand, enlisting a volunteer in another!

The means of livelihood at least, however, were thus secured to me from the moment of my setting foot on shore, for this officer took me to his own quarters, and maintained me at his own charge, till such time as I should be regularly attached, and received into the Pasha's pay; for which the order was soon obtained, and (no better post having been held out to me than that of a private soldier) I became one of a small Albanian company, stationed in Alexandria, and commanded by my patron.

A Turkish soldier does not receive his full monthly pay exactly as it becomes due, it being the system to keep a considerable balance in arrear, and so to clear the account only once or twice in the course of the year, according to circumstances. Being provided, however, with all necessaries for maintenance, and finding every thing else to be procured at a very reasonable rate, what I received of mine, enabled me by degrees to repair and refit my wardrobe, and, with the aid of some small credit, I had sufficient also to supply my little comforts and amusements.

As for the city itself, (though the surrounding country has little to recommend it,) being the first of the larger sea-ports of the Levant which I had seen, I was

much struck upon landing with its bustling appearance, and the variety of nations and habits which I saw assembled *; and finding afterwards the convenience of its cheapness and abundance †, I became well satisfied with my position, had it not been for that distressing malady which is so general in Egypt, that any settler may consider himself highly favoured who has the good fortune to escape.

I speak of the ophthalmia, which attacked me before I had been quite five months in

* Ali Bey, vol. i., p. 325, says, "the confused mixture of nations which compose the inhabitants of Alexandria —this modern Babel, &c."

† Ali Bey says, speaking of Alexandria in 1806, (during the Mameluke disturbances,) "notwithstanding this assemblage of circumstances so unfavourable, the public markets were well furnished: what an abundance would there be under more auspicious circumstances!"

the service, and, partly owing to my making light of it at first, and submitting to no remedies, got to such a height, that during the two next I became completely blind, and suffered very great torment. After which, my eyes gradually recovered, and were at length quite restored; but the discomfort and apprehension* had so disgusted me with Alexandria, that I made up my mind to quit it so soon as I should have received the pay that was due to me, and this happening but a few days after I had so determined, I was quite free to go where I pleased.

* It is not to be understood from this, that the disorder is not equally prevalent in other parts of Egypt, though a new comer might not be aware of this. When therefore, Ali Bey says of it, at Alexandria, "I look upon the Ophthalmia as the only epidemic disorder of that country," it may be presumed that he means to apply the term generally.

I therefore took leave of my officer and comrades; and, indeed, of all military service for a time, that I might go as my own master to Cairo.

As I proceeded upwards, every thing that I saw was new to me, the whole aspect of Egypt being so different from other countries; and I was delighted both with the convenience of the navigation on the Nile,—with the majesty of the river itself, —with the succession of objects which its banks presented to me; and, above all, with the first sight that I caught of the pyramids, which astonished me the more when I was informed at how great a distance they still were from us; for the eye, not making allowance for the extreme clearness of atmosphere, judges very imperfectly of space in that climate.

The first aspect and entry of the City of Cairo itself was no less surprising to me *; its extent, its intricacy, its dense and varied population, where people of all colours and languages seem to be brought together, the continual traffic that is crowding through its narrow streets, and the bazars filled with all manner of the richest merchandize, were all so many causes of excitement, and raised my curiosity to a high degree.

I had been fixed there but a very few days, when I fell in with some Albanians of my acquaintance, who shewed great satisfaction at meeting me again; and one of them who had under his command in the garrison a body of no less than four hundred men, finding that I was very ready

* Ali Bey speaks with the same admiration at the first aspect of Cairo. Vol. ii., pp. 14, 15.

again to enter into the service, undertook to facilitate my views. He spoke for me, accordingly, to one of the general officers, who ordered that I should be immediately enrolled; and afterwards, when my good conduct as a soldier had been certified from Alexandria, assigned me, at my friend's recommendation, the post of Belik-bash (which answers nearly to that of corporal in an European regiment), and placed six men under my charge: so that I had now risen a little step, and was more in the direct service of the Pasha, since the troops in Cairo may be considered in the light of a sort of body-guard.

This Pasha is the celebrated Mahomet Ali*, whose name is become familiar even

* He is said to have been born at La Cavale, in Roumelia, in 1769, and there married; he came to

to European ears; his course of greatness was, at that period, comparatively in its infancy; but he had even then developed those large views, and that extended scheme of enterprize and policy, which have since rendered him such a regenerator of his province, and such a terror to all his enemies. Whatever Egypt at this day enjoys, either of commerce or industry, or internal quiet, is owing entirely to him; and, generally speaking (if his conduct to the Mamelukes be excepted), his measures have been effected without bloodshed, for he is not wantonly or habitually cruel.

Egypt in 1801 or 1802, and was raised to the Pashalick in 1805, from which he was recalled by the Porte in the year following, but stood his ground. His wife, the mother of Ibrahim, Tossoon, and Ismael, joined him in 1809, and resides in the citadel; while a younger wife, a Georgian, by whom he has no living children, inhabits the Ezbekych.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 95.

I felt proud to serve under so extraordinary a man, and eager for some opportunity of distinguishing myself. It was no time, however, to think as yet of external warfare; for, though the progress and successes of the sect of the Wahabees* had interrupted and shut out all commerce upon one side, and had cut off from the Pashalick all the honour and benefit of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, yet it was plain to the government that faction must first be put down, and internal peace

* The founder of the sect, Abdul Wahab, was born so long ago as 1696. The Sherriff of Mecca placed himself under the protection of his lineal successor, about 1809. Medina had submitted in 1805: and the pilgrim caravan, from Damascus, was stopped and sent back in 1806 and 1807. A memoir on the progress of the sect, from the very beginning, will be found both in Mengin and in Ali Bey.

established, before any thing could be undertaken against them with a hope of success.

One present source of disquiet and disorder, especially within the capital, was in the temper of the troops themselves, who being few or none of them natives, were partly Turkish and partly Albanian, though, perhaps, the number of the Albanians predominated.

A deadly feud * and antipathy existed

* Mengin says,—"D'Albanois, que les Turks n'emploient jamais sans defiance, et qu'ils n'osent charger de la garde de leurs forteresses, parcequ'ils 'les considerent etrangers à leur nation." Vol. i. p. 9. And again, p. 242, "La mesintelligence avoit éclatée entre les Albanois et les Turks." (1806.) And, at p. 306, (1807,) speaks of the insubordination and dangerous excesses of the troops in Cairo, whom he computes at 10,000. At p. 307, he mentions, that even among the Albanians themselves there were two factions. Ali

between the two, though it is not easy to say what were the particular points in dispute, their hatred seeming to proceed principally from no better cause than that their language, usages, and dress were different.

Parties of them were continually meeting in the streets; and, proceeding from mutual taunts and insolence to violence, seldom parted without bloodshed, so that many on both sides were wounded, and even killed in such encounters; and it became unsafe for any individual, of either faction, to venture out, without a strong number of his friends about him. Sometimes quite indifferent persons were involved, and suf-

Ali Bey, speaking of 1806, says,—"The Arnaut (Albanian) troops, under the command of Mahomet Ali, amount to 5,000 men. They are riotous and dissatisfied." Vol. ii., p. 13.

fered in the confusion of the quarrels; so that they had become a most formidable scourge.

Mahomet Ali, then but newly, and even precariously, in possession of his power *, was obliged to temporize with many abuses which he was not yet strong enough to repress: his policy, however, then was, with respect to this point, as it has continued ever since, to do away, as much as possible, with all distinctions between the soldiery; owing to which, and long habits of intercourse, the inveteracy has become much softened, and has almost died away by degrees.

But employment was a still more immediate remedy, and before long, almost all

* "L'autorité du Pachâ n'etoit pas encore solidement affirmie; il avoit à lutter contra l'esprit de corps des Albanois. (1808.)" *Mengin*, vol. i., p. 328.

were ordered out of the city, and united, under the command of the Pasha's adopted son, Ibrahim Bey * (now Ibrahim Pasha), against a common enemy that was scarce without the walls.

For there was a source of intestine discord quite of another nature, and much more formidable; the Mamelukes †, dis-

* Ibrahim is styled always by Mengin, the *son* of Mahomet Ali; but I believe the author to be correct in considering him only such by adoption, being commonly said to be the wife's son by a former husband; it would be hard to account otherwise for Tossoon (who was younger) being so much preferred before him who was (on the first arrival of both, in 1805) made Governor of the Citadel, and afterwards a Pasha of two Tails, and General-in-Chief of the Mecca Expedition, long before any such honours fell to Ibrahim's share.

† Much the best complete account of the Mamelukes that I know is in Mr. Hope's very interesting Oriental novel of Anastasius; but notices of their earlier history may be found, also, in Volney, and in the Introduction to Mengin's work, which follows their history to its close, but is too minute to be either clear or entertaining.

possessed of their rule, and in whose eyes Mahomet Ali was but an usurper and intruder, still retained such a footing in Egypt, that in all the more distant parts they continued forcibly to levy their contributions, and harassed and laid waste the whole province, even to the very confines of the city itself.

It was to put down this formidable power that our army took the field; but much time was lost at first in a sort of skirmishing warfare, that was not decisive to either party, and only served still further to distress the country. More extended operations were resorted to afterwards, and the whole force ordered to advance, so as to compel the enemy to a general engagement, or to drive them beyond the limits of Egypt;—a summons which the troops

received with joy from their young commander (exasperated and wearied out as they had hitherto been with a series only of petty conflicts), and went forward with him in high spirits.

The march may be considered as almost a continued scene of fighting; for there was not a day in which our progress was not opposed, sometimes by works thrown up across the line of advance, and sometimes by the most impetuous attacks on the part of the enemy, in some of which we lost many men, and had occasionally even portions of the army turned and thrown into confusion, but still we continued steadily gaining ground.

Meantime, the Mameluke force had no means of repairing and recruiting its num-

bers*, which were diminishing gradually in these conflicts. But it cannot be denied, that their resistance to the last was a brave one, and worthy of the reputation for valour (especially as cavalry) which they have always enjoyed, and which even their French invaders allowed to them: outnumbered, however, as they now were, and with a population opposed to them, the utmost resolution and obstinacy could avail them nothing.

Ibrahim Bey persevered in driving them, step by step, before him all the way to Assouan, which is the frontier town of

* Mengin says of them,—"Cette troupe, inconstante et irréfléchie, n'ecoutant que les emportemens d'un courage aveugle, perdit peu à peu ses forces en luttant partiellement contre un ennemi qui trouvait moyen de réparer ses pertes, tandis qu'elle n'avoit pas les mêmes avantages." Vol. i. p. 396.

Egypt, to the southward; and the Mamelukes, seeing no alternative left but to take refuge in the poor and destitute country of Nubia, made themselves masters of the strong position of Ibrim, about one hundred and forty-five miles above the first cataract, and there established themselves for a time.

I was not personally present to the end of that expedition; for the regiment to which I belonged proceeded no higher than Manfalloot, and was there sent into cantonments.

Now, although the great body of the Mamelukes was thus driven out, yet numbers of them, and their adherents and dependents, still remained scattered up and down through the villages and in all parts of the country, and retained offices and

posts which had been given to them under that dynasty. It became, therefore, the first care of Mahomet Ali to provide against any intrigues or combinations of these persons subversive of his authority; and to this end he issued a proclamation of general and complete amnesty to all who had remained quietly in Egypt; and added an invitation to the chiefs and principal persons amongst them, that they should come and fix their residence in Cairo, and so put themselves under the immediate protection of the government.

This conciliatory part of the edict had the effect desired; for, led by the example of Saim * Bey, who was looked up to by all as their head, they flocked, to the number of between five and six thousand,

* Mengin writes this name Châhyn.

to the capital, and there every one amongst them who held any charge of honour or emolument, had it confirmed to him, and retained it accordingly.

No sooner was the civil war thus happily terminated, and all these suspected individuals concentrated at Cairo, and received into allegiance, than it became unnecessary to keep so many armed forces stationed here and there in the country; wherefore, with the exception of a large garrison left near the frontier, the most part of the troops were ordered back, and myself in the number, to the same quarters we had occupied before the campaign.

We were embarked upon the Nile in barges, which were suffered to drop down the stream, but we occasionally put to shore, either to shelter ourselves from the

violent heat of the sun, or to pass the night; and two incidents, which happened during those pauses, in the short passage from Manfalloot, may be worth mentioning.

Whilst moored at Minieh, one night, preparatory to my going to rest, I had retired to some distance from my companions, on the shore, and was there in no favourable posture for defence: it was dark, but I thought that I could distinguish something moving on the ground near me, which I supposed to be a dog, but a stone which I threw soon discovered my error, for a man started up, and seemed to slink away to a distance, so that I looked no more after him; but, within a very few seconds, I felt him leap suddenly on me from behind *, and lay violent hold both

* In the note at the bottom of page 151 of Mengin's

of my wrists and of my throat, and so drag me along backwards with him into a pit close at hand, which is filled by the Nile at some seasons, but was then dry.

He was a powerful man; and I had no arms whatever upon me for defending myself, so that, keeping me still throttled with one hand, and kneeling on me, he proceeded to rifle me with the other, in search of money, or whatever might be worth his taking, but finding nothing, he gave me at last a stab in the right shoulder, with a little crooked knife which he wore, and as he loosed me, struck several blows with a stick to prevent my following.

work, is a remarkable instance given of Egyptian thieving; and in another, on the same subject, appended at the end of the volume (which I shall again refer to), other examples, not less surprising.—See also on this subject, Denon and most of the travellers in that country.

I hastened back to the boat, and there, shewing my wound, told my comrades what had just happened, upon which all immediately armed themselves, and hastened to the spot; but, though so little time had been lost, and they searched for hours together in all directions, no signs of the culprit were discoverable. I had, however, the consolation of knowing that he was without booty, and that the cut which he had given me, though it bled much in the first moments, was of little consequence.

An adventure of this nature had nothing in it that was uncommon at that time,—the Egyptian peasantry were become quite a nation of thieves, and had carried their art to a high degree of skill and perfection; in fact, the confusion of the times, and the

constant struggles between the Pasha's army and the Mamelukes had so taken away from them all opportunity for industry or honest gains, as well as all security for property, and had so laid waste the villages and the whole territory, that a better course of life could hardly be expected from them; robberies, therefore, and violences, and even murders, became matters of daily occurrence.

We were destined, a little lower down, to witness an act of still greater audacity, and which brought with it far more fatal effects.

We had put to shore near Benysouef, and after having dined together at noon in one of the great groves of palm-trees, continued sitting there all the afternoon; and to pass the time, were amusing ourselves

with games of cards and dice; the stakes were trifling at first, but rose as we proceeded; and from playing, at the outset, for paras, we advanced at last to gold *; the interest, of course, grew deeper in proportion, and before night-fall some had been winners of considerable sums. The losers were now in no temper to leave off, and so, when it grew dark, lanthorns were lighted, and hung from the trees, that the game might be continued.

This drew several Arab thieves about us, who crept on little by little close to our circle unperceived, for we of ourselves constituted a little crowd, being from thirty to forty soldiers, and were all so engrossed by our play, that we never noticed the

* Probably a very small Turkish gold coin, called the Rubee, of the value of from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. English.

strangers, but took for granted that all who were standing or sitting round were our own attendants or the boat's crew; and the light, indeed, which our lanthorns gave, was hardly sufficient to have undeceived us.

Whilst each was sitting with his little heap of money before him, intent upon the cards, which were dealing round at the moment, some of these roguish interlopers suddenly knocked the lights out, and others at the same instant discharging handfuls of dust into our eyes, snatched up as much of the money as they could lay hold of, and made off with it.

In the first moment of surprise, none of us knew what had happened, and nothing remained to be seen but our own party. Without entering upon any explanation, or giving time for any, there began a general

scuffle, every one in the number supposing himself robbed and insulted by his comrades; all had instant recourse to their arms, which were unfortunately at hand, some stabbing with their dirks, and some cutting with their sabres, and the confusion and bloodshed proceeded so far, that they did not cease till nine of our party lay dead or dying on the ground, and several of the remainder grievously wounded, so that I considered myself fortunate in escaping with only a slight sabre-cut upon the arm.

We learned, afterwards, from some of the by-standers, when our spirits were calmed and more brought to reason, what it was that had really taken place, and that they had in vain tried to stop our hands in time, and to pacify our misdirected fury at the beginning of the fray.

We were filled with shame and remorse; but there was no help for what had happened, so we mourned over our companions, and got them buried.

Thus diminished in our numbers, we quitted Benysouef with horror, and paused for a while the next day opposite the pyramids of Dagshoor: one day more brought us to Old Cairo, from whence, some mounted and some on foot, we made our way to the city.

Upon our return, fresh instances were not wanting of ill-blood and renewed animosities between the Turkish and Albanian soldiery, but Mahomet Ali was meditating to turn their fierce dispositions to better account, than by leaving them to destroy one another. For the insolence of the Wahabees, and their power and in-

fluence in Arabia, being daily upon the increase, and the pilgrim caravans plundered by them, or arrested and sent back at their pleasure, both his honour and interests were engaged to put them down, if possible; and this he had determined to do.

The preparations were carried on with corresponding activity; and, besides the great force already collected in and about the city, there were fresh reinforcements every day, and new encampments and cantonments of Turkish and Albanian troops drawing together upon every side, so that the numbers became very large, and much was added to Mahometan ardour and enthusiasm by the title now openly given to the expedition, which was that of the redemption of Mecca.

The command of it was destined to the

favourite son of our Pasha, called Tossoon *, who was younger a great deal than Ibrahim Bey, not having, at that time, attained to more than his seventeenth year †; he had good natural parts, and had received more education than falls to the lot of Eastern princes in general; he also bore an unblemished character, and was much beloved, especially by the soldiery.

Just as all seemed ripe for this campaign, it was found necessary to take prompt measures of security against those pardoned Mamelukes resident within the city, for it was ascertained that they had already began caballing ‡, and only waited for the

* Tossoon had been himself created a Pasha of two tails in 1809.

† Mengin says only 16.—Vol. i., p. 372.

‡ Il avoit même appris dit on, qu'ils (the Mamelukes) avoient conçu le projet de l'enlever à son retour de Suez. —*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 371.

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marching of the army, or for the absence of the Pasha himself, to throw all into confusion, and overturn his government; who, being fully informed of the plot, and seeing at once the critical nature and extreme hazard of his situation, resolved on striking a decisive blow, and prepared his counter-mine accordingly, by which the whole race that gave him umbrage was to be exterminated in a single day.

It is not known that he consulted previously upon this matter with any other besides the Albanian Chief, Hassan* Pasha, the most confidential of all his advisers.

* The name is always written *Asam* in the original, but I have conformed to Mengin in writing it as the common name Hassan. According to Mengin, not only Hassan Pasha, but Sâleh-Koch, as well as the Kiayah Bey, and the Selictar also, were in the dreadful secret: yet possibly this might not be till that very morning.

Dissembling, therefore, all suspicion upon his part, and at the same time shunning everything that might excite it on the part of the Mamelukes, he invited their chief, Saim Bey, to an audience, and led him into familiar conversation, opening to him first his own views on this holy war, and inviting him to join in it.

The Bey had always passed for a man of craft and penetration; but he was over-reached in this instance, for acceding at once, and seeming flattered at the proposal, he entered freely afterwards into many details, and enumerated those whom he considered to be more or less under his disposal and influence, speaking at the same time in so high and confident a tone of the attachment and union of his followers, as to leave no doubt at all of his ambitious

views on the mind of Mahomet Ali; who, therefore, proceeding in his scheme, as concerted with Hassan Pasha, concluded the interview by inviting him, with all his adherents capable of bearing arms, to present themselves in the citadel on the following Friday, in order that arrangements might be made as to the part which this important body should bear in the campaign.

On his return from the audience, the Bey communicated the whole substance of what had passed to such of the Mamelukes as were most in his confidence, one of whom, who had more discernment than the rest, cried out immediately, "We are betrayed!" "So much the worse," replied Saim, "if it be so:" and, rebuking him with a look, added, "if there be dan-

ger, we shall not want courage to meet it." Then calling together the principal, as well inferior officers, over whom he presided, he recommended to them that they should all accompany him to the citadel, at a certain hour of the forenoon on the day appointed.

In the mean while the Pasha was not idle in concerting his measures for receiving them.

Before dawn, upon the Friday named *, the drums were beating throughout the city to call the troops together as for some great parade; few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and were marched off to the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

* First of March, 1811.

No specific instructions were given, but each man was strictly charged, after his arms had been examined, on no account to quit the post assigned him, and to wait there for further orders *.

The hour of audience was at hand, and a procession of about five hundred† Mameluke officers, of higher or lower degrees, presented themselves at the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather a splendid show, and were led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey was

* Mengin differs in several points in his account of this transaction, and says that the Mamelukes were attracted to the citadel in order to be present at the investiture of Tossoon Pasha with the Pelisse; but as that ceremony did not, by his own shewing, take place till a month afterwards, the pretext here given seems much more probable.

† Four hundred and seventy was the exact number, according to Mengin, vol. i., p. 363. Amyn, who alone escaped, not being comprehended.

conspicuous: when entered, they proceeded directly onwards to the palace, which occupies the highest ground; and as soon as their arrival there was announced to Mahomet Ali and Hassan Pasha, who were sitting in conference together within, an immediate order was given for the introduction of the three Chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Pashas entering into a good deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee was brought, and, last of all, the pipes; but at the moment when these were presented, as if from etiquette, or to leave his guests more at their ease, Mahomet Ali rose and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that the gates of the citadel should

be closed; adding, that as soon as Saim Bey and his two associates should come out for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the same signal the troops, posted throughout the fortress, should take aim at every Mameluke within their reach; while a corresponding order was sent down at the same time to those in the town*, and to such even as were encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers that they should find, so that not one of the proscribed body might escape.

Saim Bey, and his two brothers in command, finding that the Pasha did not re-

* Mengin adds to this, that the Divan Effendi wrote orders to all the provincial governors to carry on the same extermination in their several districts, and makes the total number of victims amount to 1000.

turn to them, and being informed by the attendants that he was gone into his harem (an answer that precluded all further inquiry), judged it to be time to take their departure. But no sooner did they make their appearance without, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became at once a scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror, similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round and preparing to return with them, so that the victims dropped by hundreds.

Saim himself had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to one of the gates of the citadel; but all to no purpose, for he found it closed like the rest; and fell there pierced with innumerable bullets.

Another Chief, Amim * Bey, who was the brother to Elfi, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation, for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been estimated at from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet fortune so favoured him,

* Mengin writes the name *Amyn*, vol. i. p. 292; and, what is very strange, though he notices his escape, says nothing of his famous leap, which I have heard from the Bey himself, and which is known to all Cairo, and the spot pointed out to strangers. Sir F. Henniker says of him, "his horse leapt over the parapet, like leaping out of a four-pair of stairs window. The horse was killed. The Bey entrusted himself to some Arabs, who, notwithstanding the offer of a large reward, would not deliver him up."—p. 64. The Bey's own account agreed with the text, and was probably, indeed, the foundation of it.

that, though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

An Albanian camp was below, and an officer's tent very near the spot on which he alighted; instead of shunning it, he went in, and throwing himself on the rites of hospitality, implored that no advantage might be taken of him; which was not only granted, but the officer offered him protection, even at his own peril, and kept him concealed so long as the popular fury and the excesses of the soldiery continued.

Of the rest of that devoted number, thus shut up and surrounded, not one went out alive; and even of those who had quietly remained in the town, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that was made after them, a high price

being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

All Cairo was filled with wailing and lamentations; and, in truth, the confusion and horrors of that day are indescribable, for not the Mamelukes alone *, but others also, in many instances, wholly unconnected with them, either from mistake, or from malice, or for plunder, were indiscriminately seized on, and put to death; so that great as the number was that perished of that ill-fated body, it yet did not comprehend the total of the victims.

For myself, I have reason † to be thank-

* Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scene périrent malgré leur innocence, tant le soldat etoit animé en carnage.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 362. The horrors of the two succeeding days are described p. 365.

† In justice to the writer, I should state that I have thought it right to abridge this paragraph, and here and

ful that though I was one of the soldiers stationed in the citadel that morning, I shed none of the blood of those unhappy men, having had the good fortune to be posted at an avenue where none of them attempted to pass, or came near me, so that my pistols and musket were never fired.

The strange fact of the leap and escape of Amim Bey, and of his asylum in the officer's tent, reached at last the Pasha's ears, who sent instantly to demand him; and when the generous Albanian found that it would be impossible any longer to

there to change an expression, in consideration of his being still a resident in Egypt; for it will be seen, in a note to page 371 of Mengin, that such a precaution might not be superfluous. "Mohammed-Aly Pacha ayant su que des voyageurs lui reprochaient dans leurs écrits le massacre des Mamlouks," &c.

shelter or screen his fugitive, he gave him a horse, and recommended him to fly with all speed into Asia; where I afterwards saw him, living in the palace of Suleyman Pasha at Acre, at the time of my first visit there with Mr. Bankes.

Meantime, here and there, even in Cairo itself, a few Mamelukes, by chance or contrivance, had survived the day of general slaughter, and were lying concealed or barricadoed, either at their own homes, or in the houses of such friends and dependents as were willing to harbour them, for the edict of destruction was still in full force.

In some instances, where a desperate resistance was expected from them, no opportunity was given for a defence, for combustibles were set fire to, and the places of refuge burnt, with every soul that was

in them. Whilst in others, among these petty sieges, the soldiers preferred the risk of their lives (of which many were sacrificed) to the loss of their plunder, all Mameluke property whatever being left at their discretion, and abandoned to them; —a licence which they abused, or construed so largely in some instances, that the dwellings of quite indifferent persons were pillaged and destroyed *.

* Mengin gives an instance of this, vol. i., p. 365, in which the aggressors were put to death for it by the Governor's order; and says that the pillage was put a stop to by Tossoon on the *third* day, after five hundred houses had been sacked or destroyed.—p. 366. Speaking of the women of the Mamelukes, he tells us, "Les Turks, qui ne pouvaient épouser que des femmes d'une classe inférieure, voyaient avec deplaisir que celles d'un plus haut rang dédaignent leur alliance, témoignaient de l'empressement lorsqu'il s'agissait d'épouser un Mamlouk. Ils eurent la bassesse de se venger, dans cette occasion, d'une sexe sans défense."—p. 365.

The work of rapine lasted six days; and, though present at many of these scenes, with a comrade of mine, I bore little part in them, and shall hardly be accused of having laid hands on a very large share of plunder, when I mention that, with the exception of a saddle, which I brought home, richly mounted in silver gilt—a piece of magnificence in great estimation with the Beys,—and a slave girl that had belonged to one of them, I took no advantage of the permission given to make prize of whatever we found in their houses.

The girl was young and pretty, and, as it happened, did not come empty-handed, for she had contrived to secrete about her some trinkets and money from the harem which she had belonged to.

I lodged her at first in the house of an

acquaintance of mine in middle life, and there went often to visit her; but, by-and-by, a proclamation coming out from the citadel, that such soldiers as should deliver up any women taken from the Mamelukes should receive the full equivalent in money, I consulted my little slave, and gave her her choice; to which she answering that she preferred to continue with me, I was so pleased with her, that I determined on making her my wife, and was married accordingly after the Turkish form, which is purely a civil contract.

I could, however, only pass the alternate weeks with my bride, for the great encampment of the Mecca expedition, to which I belonged, was now near the village of Matarieh*, some miles to the northward

* Anciently Heliopolis. The little lake, called Birket-

of the city, and I was required on duty seven days in every fourteen.

The tents there were rendered very insecure and uncomfortable by the system of pilfering from them during the night, carried on by the natives, which had arrived at such a pitch, that nothing was safe from them; and the loss and annoyance were of such serious inconvenience, that our commander-in-chief, Tossoon Pasha, was induced to resort to very strong measures, and setting a high reward upon the head of every thief taken, dead or alive, had it cried through all the camp.

Such an incitement, over and above the desire of protecting their own property,

al-Hadje (from its being the usual rendezvous of the Mecca pilgrimage at starting), is in the neighbourhood, and is the point by which Mengin designates this camp. —Vol. i., p. 375.

had the effect of keeping the troops much upon the alert; and as the pilferers were very numerous, and ran all risks, many were in one way or another secured, and impaled near the spot, for the sake of example. But so inveterate was the habit at that period, that, in spite of all possible vigilance and severity, depredations still went on, and valuables were purloined, sometimes from under the heads, and even almost off the bodies of the sleeping soldiery.

The reader has already seen, within my own personal experience, two examples of the effrontery with which theft was often carried on; but there is an instance that was then in every body's mouth, and said to have happened in the year before that of which I am now speaking, that although I have seen enough to make me credit it,

yet far surpasses all that ever fell within my own observation, and is so singular, that, though it be only from hearsay, I am disposed to relate it*.

While some of the Mamelukes were encamped about Minieh, a thief set his mind upon carrying off the horse and wearing-apparel of one of their Beys, and with this intention contrived, in the dead of the night, to creep, unperceived, within the tent, where, as it was winter time, embers were burning, and shewed the rich clothes

* Among the notes of the Historiques et Geographiques of Mengin, is one entitled *Voleurs Arabes*— "L'adresse des voleurs Arabes étoit passée en proverbe parmi les troupes de l'expedition Française: on ne peut lui comparer que l'audace de ces mêmes hommes;" and it proceeds to say, that they would carry off the arms from the sides of the officers while sleeping, and get through the walls of houses, and do other feats that greatly resemble, and quite equal, some of those to be found in this narrative.—Vol. i., p. 441.

of the Bey lying close at hand. The thief, as he squatted down by the fire, drew them softly to him, and put them all on; and then, after filling a pipe, and lighting it, went deliberately to the tent door, and, tapping a groom, who was sleeping near, with the pipe end, made a sign to him for the horse, which stood piquetted in front. It was brought—he mounted—and rode off.

On the morrow, when the clothes of the Bey could nowhere be found, none could form a conjecture as to what had become of them, until the groom, on being questioned, maintained to his fellow-servants that their master was not yet returned from his ride, and told them how he had suddenly called for his horse in the night,—which at last seemed to give some clue to what had really happened.

Upon this, the Bey, anxious to recover his horse, as well as curious to ascertain the particulars, ordered it to be published abroad, that if the person who had robbed him would, within two days, bring back what he had taken, he should not only be freely pardoned, but should receive also the full value of the animal and of the suit of clothes.

Relying on the good faith of this promise, and possibly, too, not a little vain of his exploit, the Arab presented himself, and brought his booty, and the Bey also, on his part, punctually kept his word; but since, besides the loss, there was something in the transaction that placed the Bey in rather a ludicrous light, it went hard with him to let the rogue depart so freely, and he seemed to be considering what he should

do; so that, to gain time, he was continually asking over and over again fresh and more circumstantial accounts of the manner in which the stratagem had been conducted: the other was too crafty not to perceive that no good might be preparing for him, and began to feel anxious to get safe out of the scrape; he shewed no impatience however, but entered minutely into every detail, accompanying the whole with a great deal of corresponding action, at one time sitting down by the fire, and making believe as though he were slyly drawing on the different articles of dress, so as to throw the Bey himself and all who saw and heard him into fits of laughter. When he came at last to what concerned the horse, "It was," he said, "brought to me, and I leaped upon his back;" and so

in effect flinging himself again into the saddle, and spurring the flanks sharply with the stirrup-irons, he rode off, with all the money that he had received for the animal in his pocket, and had got much too far during the first moments of surprise for any of the bullets to take effect that were fired at him in his flight, and nothing further was ever heard of him or the horse.

The nightly instances of pillage in our camp happened sometimes under circumstances of scarcely less impudence and hazard, though they might not present any thing quite so entertaining as this to the reader; and we were so constantly receiving fresh warnings to be upon our guard, that at last the watching for thieves became an essential and prominent part of

military duty, and the numbers caught or killed were very considerable.

Among so many victims of our vigilance, there was one, at least, who was innocent, and I regret to add that he fell by my hand.

It was my week of service, and I occupied, with the six soldiers who were under me, a tent that stood a little apart from most of the others; here, one morning before daylight, while the rest were sleeping, I got out of bed, and was keeping watch, when the Binbashee, or serjeant, of the tent that happened to be the nearest to us, having gone softly forwards from it to a short distance (as it seems was his constant practice an hour before sunrise), was there kneeling, and silently saying his prayers, a custom so little general, and

especially at that hour, among soldiers, that I do not recollect to have seen it observed by any other, either before or since.

All that I could discern was what seemed a human form, crouching towards the ground, and occasionally moving, for there was not light enough to distinguish the precise posture, much less the identity of the person.

My mind, strongly prepossessed with the idea of thieves, entertained no doubt at all that this must be one of them, and therefore reaching for my loaded gun as quietly as I could, I discharged it at the object. It took effect in a mortal part, and the poor man fell upon his face without a groan. I instantly ran forward, with my sabre in my hand, to make a

trophy of his head, and so to secure my reward from our commander.

But what was my astonishment and horror, when I found that, instead of a robber, I had killed my friend and fellow-soldier! Bitterly did I cry over his body, and was at first so engrossed by the remorse and sorrow which I felt for the rash act, that I never once thought of the dangers to which it would expose me. My conscience, it is true, could reproach me with no malice or ill intention, but yet I could find no excuse for my impetuosity and want of thought.

No sooner was it day-light, than the fact became known to all the camp, some relating it in one way, and some in another; and, as the worst is often that which is most believed, it was by many looked

upon, till better informed afterwards, rather as a murder than as an accident.

I went of myself to the tent of Tossoon Pasha, and there stated the case to him as it occurred, earnestly watching his countenance, that I might judge what sort of impression was made, before I should proceed to implore his forgiveness and protection.

Just at that moment, a vast number of officers, who had heard of the circumstance, came in, and I was rejoiced at the opportunity of having so many auditors of my story, for, though deeply affected at what I had to relate, a clear conscience enabled me to stand forward boldly with the protestations and proofs of my innocence, of which all who were present became soon convinced; and it being on all hands con-

ceded that, where there was no ill-will, there could be no crime, I was sent back to my comrades, humbled, indeed, in my own eyes, and heavy at heart, but without the stigma of any reprimand or punishment.

But this acquittal on the part of Tossoon Pasha, and of all his staff, was not enough to screen me from further consequences; for the poor serjeant had relatives and friends in our army, who felt a full right, and expressed a fixed determination, to have blood for blood,—a notion of retaliatory justice which is deeply rooted in the minds of the Albanians; and the circumstance of my being known to be a stranger, and without connexions in the country, while it increased their inveteracy, tended also to make them safer in their purpose;

so that I found myself in the continual risk of being assassinated; upon which I had again recourse to Tossoon Pasha, who, seeing at once the full extent of my danger, took me under his protection, and, sending for those persons, agreed to pay to them, in satisfaction*, a sum of some thousand piastres, on condition that they should desist from all further pursuit of me.

It is, indeed, almost impossible for me to paint in sufficiently strong colours the amiable qualities of this son of Mahomet Ali;—kind, generous, humane, and affable, he conciliated the esteem and affection of all who approached or served under him.

* This satisfaction or atonement is termed Dych. Mengin mentions that 4000 piastres were paid, in a case in which the Pasha himself had undertaken the mediation, to the brother of an Albanian binbashee, who had been killed at Cairo in an affray with the Franks.—Vol. i., p. 131.

Nay, he was capable of doing good to his very enemies, of which the instances were not unfrequent just at that time; for it happened, long after the general massacre, that here and there some lurking Mameluke was hunted out or surprised by the soldiery, and put to death, as his fellows had been before him. In such cases, the family, deprived of all that they had to depend upon, would almost invariably come and throw themselves at the feet of our young commander; many even bringing with them the headless bodies of husbands or fathers to confirm their tale, and move him to pity; and in no instance did he turn away from their entreaties, or withhold what relief was in his power;—he protected and provided for the widows, and became a father to the orphan chil-

dren. So that whatever stain some may have contracted from those scenes of blood, his own part in them was no other than that of mercy and compassion*.

Though I have already dwelt painfully long in this chapter upon acts of a very opposite character, yet there is one which perhaps I ought not to omit, since I was an eye-witness of it, and as it is characteristic of the time, and of the condition of the country up to the very moment of our departure.

As I was going one evening towards the city with some Albanian comrades, we met a man on the road, whom, for some reason, they mistook at first for a Mameluke, and

† Mengin, in speaking of the massacre, says of Tos soon, "qui ne prit aucune part en ce qui se passait."—Vol. i., p. 362.

seized him; but it was made clear to them immediately afterwards that he was not so, and they let him go. Upon this, the man, who had been roughly treated, used high language, and abused them, they threatening him in return; and I, who well knew how short an interval there is between menace and bloodshed with those who have their arms always at their girdle, and how small account the Albanians make of the life of a man, did all that I could to keep matters quiet, and to turn them aside, but I could not. From words they proceeded first to blows; and then, taking to their weapons, soon put an end to the poor stranger.

Horrified at the cowardice and cruelty of the act, I withdrew myself from them instantly, and hastened away; but I learned

afterwards, that they proceeded to cut the head off, and, representing it as a Mameluke's, got the reward.

As for those who had been driven out into Nubia, they were very restless, and desirous of making fresh incursions into Egypt, which obliged Ibrahim Bey still to keep a very large force with him in the Upper Province; from whence, after repelling every attempt at invasion, he followed them up even into the country which they had occupied, and there worsted them so much in various encounters, as to oblige them at length to retire still farther southward, to the city of Dongola, of which, after assassinating the native sovereign, they made themselves masters, and retained the dominion there for about seven years.

Such is a slight picture of the state of Egypt, externally and internally, about the time when we were preparing to set out for Arabia; for six months had now passed away from the time that we were first encamped; and we were in daily expectation of receiving marching orders: preparatory to which, all the troops received the pay of three months in advance, and the task devolved upon me of providing what would be necessary by the way, as well for the six privates under my charge, as for myself.

I therefore put my affairs in order at Cairo, and took leave of my wife, whom I left there decently lodged.

The details of the march, and the campaign that followed upon it, will be better reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Suez—Voyage on the Red Sea—Siege and capture of Yambo—Wells dug and fortified—Heat—Insects—Scorpions—Battle and defeat at Jedeed Bogaz—Flight of the army and of the author—Embarkation at Mobrek—Return to Yambo—Reviews—Reinforcements—Sickness of the Author—He returns by Suez to Cairo.

THE march of the army on the Mecca expedition was gradually commenced*, a division setting out every day, and so, within no long space of time, the whole force, including as well such troops as were drawn off from remoter parts of Egypt, as those from the capital and its immediate

* According to Mengin, vol. i., p. 375, Tossoon Pasha, by his father's orders, gave the signal for departure from the camp at Birket el Hadji on the 6th of October, 1811.

neighbourhood, was assembled at the place appointed for a general rendezvous, upon the coast of the Red Sea, not far from the little town of Suez *.

Here they found, for the most part, vessels prepared to convey them to Yambo †, which was the point upon the Arabian shore fixed on for their landing; but it would be indispensable for them to touch here and there by the way, for the sake of water and provisions.

* Mahomet Ali had got ready eighteen vessels in ten months on the Red Sea.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 343.

† I have thought it best to retain the common spelling, though the author always writes it Lembi, Ali Bey Jënboa, and Mengin Janbo, who represents it as having been in danger from the Wahabees so early as 1804, when a special firman from the Porte was received in Egypt for sending 500 men to its protection; but the particulars of this siege, described in the text, seem very incorrectly given by him. There is a view of Yambo, the 66th print in Ali Bey's Travels.

I shall say nothing of the remainder of the army in their transit, but confine myself to the vessel which I myself was on board, which being in less readiness than most of the others, and the turn for embarkation of my company being one of the last, by far the greater part sailed before us.

The figure and construction of all the larger craft at Suez differ totally from anything European. The hull is large, and of an awkward appearance, and is furnished with only one mast, to which yards and sails of different figures are adapted, according to the circumstances of the different winds to which that perilous navigation is subject; add to this description the most lazy crew of sailors imaginable, and the reader has then a very just picture of a

transport on the Red Sea.—This species of vessel is called a dao *.

We got under way immediately, with a fair, though a very faint breeze; but this did not befriend us long, for we soon reached a point which is remarkable for the furious gusts to which it is almost continually subject.

The superstition of the neighbourhood ascribes it to a supernatural, and not to any physical cause; for this being, according to received tradition, the spot where the chosen people under Moses passed over,

* There is a sketch and the dimensions given of a dao, in Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 31, (where it will perhaps be observed to bear more resemblance to the ships of the ancients, than any other now in use:) he says, in his description of it, "the daos carry three sails of various sizes, to use on different occasions, and two little smack sails, for they never make use of more than one at a time."

the ignorant imagine that, since it was also here that the host of Pharaoh was swallowed up, their restless spirits still remain at the bottom of the deep, and are continually busied in drawing down mariners to their destruction; a notion so received among all the seafaring people along that coast, that it would be quite in vain to argue against it *.

* Burckhardt says, "The large bay of Birket Faraoun is so called from being, according to Arab and Egyptian tradition, the place where the Israelites crossed the sea, and where the returning waves overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host. There is almost a continual motion in the water of this bay, which they say is occasioned by the spirits of the drowned still moving in the bottom of the sea; but which may also be ascribed to its being exposed on three sides to the sea, and to the sudden gusts of wind from the openings of the valleys. These circumstances, together with its shoals, render it very dangerous, and more ships have been wrecked in the bay of Birket Faraoun, than in any other part of the gulf of Tor, another proof, in the eyes of the Arabs, that the spirits o demons dwell there."—*Travels in Syria*, p. 624.

In effect, so soon as we came abreast of the head-land in question, a most violent blast of wind seemed to rush down upon us as if it would upset the vessel; at which the crew all fell to prayers. But there was no abatement of the danger till we had quite passed beyond the limits usually exposed to this singular and awful phenomenon, which is doubtless to be accounted for by some natural peculiarities of the place.

The next day we coasted the region of Mount Sinai, so celebrated in holy writ, and, touching there, took in water and provisions, which we began to be in need of already.

Beyond that the navigation becomes exceedingly difficult and dangerous, reefs and shoals abounding in all directions, and the utmost circumspection being necessary to

avoid them; a sailor *, posted almost at the mast-head, was employed in looking down from thence, and shouting out how our course should be directed, as he discerned greater or less depth from above. Both the wind and the water were very still at the time, and the latter so clear, that it was amusing to observe in the shallows what curious objects the bottom of that sea presents, where weeds and corals grow to such a size, and so disposed, as almost to have the appearance of groves and gardens.

We were holding our course also so near the beach, that I could distinguish the variety of large and beautiful shells cast up

* It was on the prow (not on the mast-head) that four or five persons stood in Ali Bey's voyage, and warned the steersman in the same manner by loud cries.—Vol. ii., p. 33.

upon it, which furnish such a supply of mother-of-pearl to the markets of Arabia and Palestine*.

I was much entertained with the sight of objects so new to me; and the atmosphere was so pure that the eye could discern the minutest details of the landscape as we passed along, which sometimes opened to the arid and uninviting face of the interior country, and sometimes shewed no more than the bounded strip of cultivation along the coast.

Whilst these scenes in succession were beguiling the tediousness of the voyage, all at once our vessel struck upon a sand-bank, which caused a great and general

* At Jerusalem it is much used for chaplets, and the carving of small figures of saints, and for the inlaying of crucifixes. At Mecca, chaplets are also manufactured of it for the Mahometan pilgrims.

panic on board, and most of us were giving ourselves up for lost; but, owing to a great degree of prudent inaction on the part of our captain and his crew, and still more to the perfect state of calm which prevailed, we were enabled to continue stationary, till the tide rose sufficiently to float us off from our perilous situation, and to permit us to pursue our course.

We touched for water at Ras Mahomet, and afterwards for provisions at Moyeleh*, the wind continuing fair all the while, and within a few days more anchored safely at Yambo.

To observe some order in my narrative, I should here mention that the cavalry

* Moyeleh is just within the opening of the gulf of Akaba, and answers to the ancient Phœnicon. There is a print of it in Ali Bey, the 68th plate.

belonging to our expedition had not been embarked, as most of the infantry were, but made their way round by land with our commander-in-chief, Tossoon Pasha, and had reached the place of destination before us, as well as the most part of the fleet of transports; so that I found some attempts against the enemy had actually been already made, though without any sort of success; nor could any indeed have been reasonably expected, since the force had been hitherto straggling and incomplete, a large detachment of infantry, for whom the number of vessels had not sufficed, arriving only from their fatiguing march just about the same time that I did from my passage. Few, however, or none, were now at last wanting to the full complement of the army at Yambo, to the infinite satisfac-

tion of our youthful and impetuous commander.

The place itself occupies a position of some natural strength, and being fortified after the old fashion (though, as it is said, at no remote period) with walls and towers, has rather the appearance of a castle, than of a town, from the outside, the houses within being very low. It has a recently erected battery towards the sea, which was under the direction of an engineer in the service of the Sherriff of Mecca*. The

* The Sherriff Ghelib seems throughout to have acted a very double or vacillating part. He had assured Mahomet Ali of his co-operation, through Seyd Ahmed El Molla, sent as a spy to communicate with him.—Mengin, vol. i., p. 373. He appeared to Ali Bey, in his interview, to be from thirty-six to forty years of age, vol. ii. p. 57; and to be a man of sense, cunning, political, and brave, but completely ignorant.—p. 120.

Ali Bey represents Jemboa to have been, at the time

inhabitants and garrison were not themselves regular Wahabees, but, partaking altogether of the same views and interests, and implicated in the same cause, they shewed a determination to resist, and to keep their gates shut against us, after persuasion and fair means had been tried in vain with them at first.

It being, however, quite indispensable to the progress of the campaign, that we should be masters of this maritime post in the first place, as well as of its little port, our musters were no sooner complete than it was regularly invested all round, the artillery playing briskly upon it from the land sides, and a bomb vessel built at Suez

of his visit, subject to the Sultan Sherriff of Mecca, who appointed a governor there, with the title of Vizir, but that he acknowledged also the sovereignty of Saaoud, chief of the Wahabee sect.—vol. ii. p. 161.

by Mahomet Ali for the purpose, doing its utmost to reduce it upon the other: but with all this activity we could not perceive that we were advancing at all towards our object; and our young Pasha became so exasperated by the obstinacy of the besieged, that he determined upon trying an assault.

His own personal energy and intrepidity of character had infused such spirit and emulation into the troops, that they waited only for the word, and shewed great impatience during the short delay requisite for the construction of scaling-ladders in sufficient number for mounting the walls.

On the other hand, those within were quite aware of this, and so well prepared to receive us, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity and determination of the attack,

it may perhaps be fairly doubted whether it would have been successful, had it not been combined with the disheartening and irreparable loss which happened to them at the moment, in the death of their chief engineer, killed by a cannon ball from the bombarding vessel, which rendering their battery useless, and leaving them exposed upon that side, it became evident to them that their little town could not long hold out; yet they turned their views rather to retreat than surrender. The walls meantime were very well defended, but all of the inhabitants not actually employed with the garrison in the manning of them, were collecting and packing up and carrying every thing that was precious and portable within, towards a small postern gate, called the Gate of Medina, from its opening in that direction.

The fortification upon that side had never been scaled, and it was only towards nightfall that our soldiery began to gain any firm footing upon the other; upon which all at once, as at some signal agreed upon amongst themselves, all the besieged fell back precipitately in one direction, and got out of that gate which has been spoken of, cutting their way through the small number of assailants who happened to be posted thereabouts.

We thus became masters of almost an empty town; and though we soon found that the enemy had left us but little of any value, yet, according to Turkish custom, all falling immediately to pillage, the fugitives were not pursued.

The next day, our Pasha, who had shared the fatigues and dangers of the

siege almost like a common man, had a review of his troops, and sent off despatches to his father with the news of his success.

After which, we remained quietly at Yambo for some time, without any fresh enterprise, the habits of Turkish warfare being naturally dilatory; but such a multitude of people in so small a place occasioned a great scarcity and dearness of provisions, and water soon failed us entirely.

For there is none in that part of the country, excepting what is caught and kept in cisterns; and those in Yambo, having been constructed proportionably to the native population, were insufficient for the supply, first of such a garrison as had quitted it; and then for our large force, succeeding immediately after them.

It became, therefore, very necessary to look out for a supply elsewhere, in which we were successful, by sinking wells in the neighbourhood to a very great depth; and as we grew more conversant afterwards with the country round, we found villages within reach, from which many necessaries might be procured, though not without difficulty; for the Wahabees and their allies, well aware of the frequency with which our wants obliged us to stray beyond our walls and outposts, and to traffic with places more or less in their interests or occupation, did their utmost to annoy us in these excursions, or to cut us off from our supplies: so that great exertion was made to provide against this evil, and, above all, for the protection of the wells which we had dug with so much labour.

For this last purpose, a great number of bags, made of matting, were filled with sand, and piled up in such a manner as to form a solid rampart round them, and so to secure from the enemy's gunshot, as well as from any surprise by cavalry, those little detachments which it was found necessary to post at each of them.

As the summer advanced, the troops began to suffer excessively from the heat; and, from being much crowded together in garrison, great sickness prevailed amongst them, and the insects also became a source of continual torment.

We were not sorry, therefore, to learn, that Tossoon Pasha had determined on following up his success, and to receive orders to hold ourselves in readiness by a stated day to march against the enemy, still scat-

tered about more or less covertly in the neighbourhood.

Accordingly, after a stay at Yambo of three months, and leaving there a sufficient force, we set out in quest of them, taking the direction of Cara Lembi *. Where, on our approach, they united, and did all they could to fortify themselves, but were brought to an engagement, and defeated, so that the villages in their occupation fell into our hands, with whatever they had before saved, and carried off with them †.

Upon this a great many of their sect

* The taking of Janbo de Terre is mentioned by Mengin, vol. i., p. 377.

† Il soumettait les villages de l'alentour; le cheykh de la tribu de Geheyneh, séduit par ses présens, l'aida de toute son influence: c'était la véritable manière de traiter avec les Arabes, que l'argent rend dociles, et que la contrainte éloigne.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 384.

threw themselves on the victor's mercy, (being for the most part landed proprietors, who were unwilling to see their substance hazarded in the chances of war,) and their submission was taken in good part, Tossoon promising protection to them, and even honouring them with presents.

Others fled up into the neighbouring mountains, and remained lurking there, but were subject to continual annoyance from our parties, who sallied out upon adventures, and carried off their women or their cattle.

But by far the largest proportion of the vanquished soon re-assembled, and took post at a most important and defensible pass through that same chain, called Jedeed Bogaz *, and were there fortifying them-

* Jedeed Bogaz signifies in Arabic the new open-

selves, and preparing for the most obstinate resistance.

During the same interval our army was all encamped about the village (or villages rather) of Cara Lembi, but in a state of great discomfort; for the quantity of scorpions was such, that most of the soldiers were stung by them in their tents, and such the virulence of their poison, that many died almost immediately, and some were kept so much upon the alarm, that they would prefer climbing up into the palm-trees, there to pass the night.

Other reptiles and insects also abounded in the same proportion; and the season being remarkably hot, our condition could

ing, or pass. The more common name seems to be simply Djideeda (the new); it is represented in the 65th plate of Ali Bey. Mengin writes it Goudoydeh.—Vol. ii. p. 27.

hardly, in possibility, be worse than it was.

Tossoon Pasha seeing this, and judging also that further delay would only be giving time to the enemy for the further increase and improvement of their works, resolved to make the attempt of dislodging them at once, or of bringing them to battle, since, so long as they should maintain themselves in their present position, they must command the road to Medina, and cut off from the Egyptian army all prospect of reaching it: for Jedeed Bogaz is a defile of very uncommon natural strength, the passage through it being not wider in some parts than just sufficient to let about ten men pass abreast betwixt the bases of two high and steep mountains, so that a very small number might maintain it against a whole host.

There were, however, at this time, not less than 2500 Wahabees collected there to defend it; and, though posted there so recently, they had made such good use of their time in building up rude breastworks of loose stones on the sides of the precipice, to protect them as they fired, that they could be very little exposed to our musketry; and as for our artillery, from the nature of the ground, we should not be able to make any use of that, or to bring it at all to bear upon them.

These disadvantages were not unforeseen, but since every hour must obviously increase them, when once the enterprise had been decided upon, a very early day was fixed for the march from Cara Lembi.

When it arrived, and the tents were struck, before we had yet moved from the

spot, Tossoon Pasha made a long and effective speech *, pointing out to us that the expulsion of the enemy from Jedeed Bogaz was one of primary necessity, and, in fact, was that upon which the whole issue of the war depended, for that without it no hope could be entertained of penetrating to those holy cities, whose deliverance was the object which had brought us from our homes, and which had inspired

* Mengin says, "Toussoon Pacha donna des éloges aux troupes sur les succès qu' ils avoient obtenus à l'ouverture de la campagne. De *Janbo de Terre* il se porta sur Bedr."—vol. i., p. 377.

Janbo de Terre is the place called in the text Cara Lembi, and by Ali Bey, Yanbea en Nahal, Janbo of the Palms. Addresses from the generals to their troops seem to be very customary in Turkish warfare. Mengin alludes to them more than once, and in a moment of great distress before Derayeh, says, "Prévoyant que sa position rendrait l'ennemi plus audaieux, et qu'il ne manquerait per de faire ses sorties, Ibrahym Pasha avait harangué énergiquement ses troupes."—vol. ii., p. 125.

that zeal and determination which had already proved irresistible at Yambo and Cara Lembi; and if we could for one moment lose sight of its importance, we were unworthy both of the name of true believers, and of the fame which the Egyptian army had acquired!—He mentioned also that he had received letters from his father, not only extolling our success at Yambo, but speaking also of the enthusiastic joy which the news had spread among our families and friends at Cairo. "How inconsistent, therefore," he continued, "as well as base would it be, should you blight by your future conduct all these rejoicings and expectations that have been excited at home! We have but to proceed in our course, to march, and to conquer, and to become, not in name only, but in fact, the redeemers of Mecca!"

Those who caught his expressions were delighted with them, and they were repeated from one to another through the army, in which all had been captivated by his earnest countenance and action as he spoke, so that never any call had a greater effect; and it was answered by a display of the utmost ardour and enthusiasm.

The march was commenced immediately afterwards, and was very long on the first day, and still longer on the second, which brought us in the evening to Bedrionin*, a village where it has been the custom with

* This place is called simply Bedr by Mengin, who celebrates its waters and gardens, (the attractions, no doubt, which used to detain the pilgrim caravans there.) It was first taken, it appears, after an affair of about two hours with the enemy; in which, as it is not mentioned, our author, we may conclude, was not personally concerned.

the pilgrim caravans, for time immemorial, to make a halt during two or three days, in order to rest and refresh themselves. For our part, however, we did not even remain in it a whole night; for, arriving there at dark, we set forward again soon after midnight, and, by a forced march, got near to Jedeed Bogaz, and into sight of the enemy at daylight.

We halted not far from their position, on a comparatively level ground, surrounded by very high mountains; and the troops were got into order, and the tents pitched there till further orders.

For, before I speak of the event of our operations at Jedeed Bogaz*, I should, in

* This position, styled, in the text, Jedeed Bogaz, is designated by Mengin as being "en avant de Safrâ"—p. 382; and the battle and defeat distinguished by the same name. There is, however, a great agreement in the

justice to our youthful general-in-chief, mention the precaution which he had taken on setting out upon this hazardous undertaking.

There were attached to our expedition a considerable number of small vessels on the Red Sea, which, so long as we remained at Yambo, and Cara Lembi, were kept at anchor off those places, to wait our movements and supply our necessities. As soon, however, as we proceeded to march farther onwards, they had orders to make for Mobrek, a place upon the coast, distant only three or four hours from the present scene of action, where they might

circumstances.—vol. ii., p. 27. Speaking of the same pass, Mengin says, " on alla camper sur les hauteurs, de Safrâ et de Goudayeh. Toussoun fit travailler de suite à la construction de deux forts à l'entreé et à la sortie des defilés."

secure us a retreat in case of any failure or disaster. And the necessity of such a measure became the more evident, when, from an actual view of the country, it was ascertained that there was not a single tenable village in our rear which we could retire upon, should that, by any reverse, become necessary. All movements were therefore suspended, till intelligence should be received that our shipping had reached its destination; which was important, moreover, as having a store of provisions on board, that no distress might be felt in the army, should circumstances tend to detain us in the position now taken, longer than we expected.

The wished-for tidings arrived, and became the signal for a general review, during which we could plainly distinguish the

enemy in great numbers upon * both the mountains in front of us, who seemed to look down upon us from thence with contempt, as confident in their own security.

Meantime we were again addressed with the highest encomiums on our former valour and good conduct; and the young Pasha declared himself to be quite as ready for the post of danger as any one amongst us; so as to be more willing to be considered, in this respect, our comrade than our commander.

The next day a signal was given, and a partial skirmishing ensued, but with more loss upon our side than upon the other,

* Les Wahabys occupaient les défilés et le haut des montagnes; leur position paraissait inexpugnable.—*Mengin.*

owing to the great disadvantage of the ground; and it was not till the third or fourth, that this desultory system of warfare was abandoned, upon its leading to no better results.

It had probably been undertaken and persisted in with the hope of drawing our adversary down; but when it was found quite ineffectual to this purpose, it had been at last determined to attack them in their redoubts on the morrow.

Before daylight, all were under arms: and, just at dawn, the order for advance was instantly and eagerly obeyed,—the whole mass pressing impetuously forward in order to force the position, and dislodge the Arabian army from both the heights, amidst a very sharp fire upon both sides; and not only the first united fire was tre-

mendous, but it was long and steadily sustained, the obstinacy upon the one part being equal to the daring upon the other, so that the issue seemed to be very doubtful; Tossoon himself coming forward to encourage and animate his men, calling to many of them individually by their names, and adjuring them, by their religion and their country alternately, as he appealed to the names of Egypt and Mecca.

They needed no such spur; but yet, perhaps, it was not quite without its effect, for in that forenoon they did wonders; and, notwithstanding the steepness of ascent, and the incessant firing from above, gained possession here and there of several of the breastworks*; but these were again so com-

* "On donna l'assaut, les retranchemens furent emportés de vive force."—*Mengin.*

manded by others, that they were of little service, and opened only new points for the aim of the Wahabees, who could pour their bullets down upon us almost with impunity, and thus occasioned a most dreadful slaughter.

About mid-day, the sun grew so intensely hot, reflected from these arid mountain sides, that it became impossible for either party to persevere in active exertion, and there was a truce accordingly for several hours, during which most of our soldiery laid themselves down under the palm-trees, which grow there upon the lower levels in abundance; and which, besides the benefit of shade, furnished them also with a very acceptable supply of dates.

The cravings of thirst, however, became

intolerable, and could not be satisfied, (at least with by far the greater number,) there being no water that we knew of upon the field. So that the impatience of our present condition became great; and the signal for action, given at about four o'clock in the afternoon, was received with a desperation that was like joy.

However, whether from weakness and exhaustion, or some other cause, the firing was at first neither very brisk, nor with much effect; but the courage and spirits warmed afterwards, and the contest became much hotter on both sides than it had been in the fore part of the day.

The ferocity and the carnage are indescribable, and continued, with the issue still doubtful, till long after sunset; for it had been night about two hours, when all

at once some panic or disaster turned the fortune of the battle, and we were put completely to the rout.

There was a flight and a pursuit, but in such disorder * and confusion, nothing being to be discerned and distinguished, that many of the foremost of the Wahabees were killed by their own party amongst our troops, of whom a vast proportion perished at every step.

The miserable remnant that reached our camp with Tossoon found it quite untenable against an enemy master of the field, for it had neither trenches nor any sort of fortification about it; they halted, there-

* "On abandonna les tentes et les bagages, les soldats en fuyant, pillaient les effets de leurs chefs, les plus forts s'emparaient des chevaux des plus foibles." "Plusieurs s'étant égarés au milieu de l'obscurité péferirent par les mains des Arabes."—*Mengin*, p. 383.

fore, only long enough to set fire to all the tents and camp equipage, abandoning * even the military chest in their haste; and no refuge or hope seeming to be left for them but in the little squadron at Mobrek, fled precipitately thither, and embarked.

Some of the vessels remained stationary, and some coasted to short distances, in order to pick up the stragglers; signal-guns being fired at intervals to encourage them, and point out their direction; a great number accordingly dropped in by little and little, during the two or three following days; and the young Pasha,

* "Cependant les Wahabys, croyant que la fuite des Turcs était une ruse préméditée dans le dessein de leur dresser des embûches, ne descendirent à leur camp que le lendemain, tandisque, s'ils les avaient poursuivis la veille, il n'en serait pas échappé un seul. Le biscuit, les munitions de guerre, les tentes, le bagage tombaient en leur pouvoir."—*Mengin*, p. 383.

who was himself on board, did what he could to animate and encourage their broken spirits; and he himself bore his reverses manfully.

As for me, on the night of the defeat, before I was aware of the turn that things had taken, I found myself, as well as a comrade at my side, so enveloped and intermixed with the enemy, that it is almost a miracle how we extricated ourselves, and escaped alive. Cut off, however, from all our friends, after a most toilsome and perilous scramble, we gained a high and somewhat detached eminence, half dead with fatigue and hunger, and suffering even yet more from thirst.

Scarcely even did we dare to stand upright, in order to look around us, for fear of being discovered; for we could still hear

cries and shouts in the distance, and saw fires kindling on many of the heights, which we judged could only be the work of the victors, whether as signals, or only to light them in their pursuit and observation of the fugitives, while a much wider expanse of flame lower down, and further off from us, pointed out the situation of our ill-fated camp.

Our predicament seemed almost hopeless, but since daylight would only increase the danger, and our present wants and sufferings were become intolerable, it seemed best to make at once for that point, of which we had now ascertained the direction. It might, therefore, be about midnight when we descended, crawling upon all-fours, like animals; and so, in fear and trembling, passed several times almost close within

sight and hearing of those who were searching for stragglers, or stripping the bodies. We had the good fortune to reach the plain unobserved, and found our camp still glowing in its ashes, and consumed, with almost all that was in it; there were appearances that it had been partially plundered, but whoever had been there were now all withdrawn from it, the routed army for retreat, and the masters of the field, doubtless, for precaution, and fearing some stratagem during the night.

We laid hands on a few provisions which had escaped, or been abandoned for the seizure of the treasure, which had itself also been looked to with so little exactness in their moment of haste, that I picked up about four hundred golden crowns that were lying scattered upon the ground.

Parched and perishing as we were at that moment, a single draught of water would have been much more valuable to us; but this could nowhere be found*.

Fortunately, however, I happened to recollect a spring that lay distant about five miles from that position; so that, without taking further rest, we hurried to it with the utmost impatience, and after having drank, refreshed ourselves by bathing in it.

From thence, although to gain Mobrek was our object, it was little better than mere chance that led us to take the right direction, in which we afterwards overtook or fell in with several of our comrades, all quite as much at a loss as ourselves.

* L'armée turque comptait huit mille hommes: la moitié périt de faim et de soif à la suite de cette affaire.—*Mengin*, p. 384.

One knot of them was sitting despondently round the brink of a well, too deep for them or for us to reach the water by any contrivance that we could devise, though expiring with thirst; and one of the number, in the agony and despair occasioned by it, threw himself in, and perished before us all.

It was now daylight, and many tracks were discernible from this well, so that there was a great division of opinion which should be taken, and some of us separated; but that which I chose soon brought me into sight of the sea, and of our shipping, which was coasting very close to the beach. Weary and exhausted as I was, I found strength to run down; and there, in my impatience, threw myself into the water, and swam on board one of the largest,

which, as it happened, was that in which Tossoon himself was embarked.

As he saw any cavalry arrive, after sending them refreshments on shore, he gave them orders immediately for Yambo; but in several instances we could see their poor horses, pressed by extreme thirst, push forward into the salt-water, and drink it till death was the consequence; though they were become doubly precious, great numbers having perished in the skirmishes or the engagement, and in the havoc and rout that followed upon it. Only such, therefore, of the men as were dismounted were received into our little fleet, with the remains of the infantry, which, after full time had been allowed for collecting all who could be supposed to have escaped, was directed to steer for Yambo, that all might

be there concentrated, till time should be given for advices and fresh reinforcements from Egypt.

In this passage, of no great distance, we had to strive during three whole days against foul winds, along that difficult and dangerous coast; so that provisions began to fail, and all were put upon a very short allowance; the water particularly being reduced so low, that where I was, the young Pasha used to give it out himself, to prevent quarrelling and contentions for it; no more than a single cup being measured out to each person during the day.

At last with great joy we got sight of Yambo; and the garrison there, having heard of our disaster, made signals of welcome to us upon our return, and we felt great comfort at being once more united in safety.

Here, after about a fortnight's rest, when there could no longer remain any hope of the re-appearance of such as were still missing, a general muster and review took place —a melancholy spectacle, for, though the precise numbers that had fallen were studiously kept from us, it was plain to be seen, at a single glance, that we were reduced at the least by one half*, and were, for the most part, almost without clothes or arms, more like peasantry than soldiers.

In the despatch, however, forwarded to Cairo, our discomfiture, our wants, and our losses, were fully stated; and not only such reinforcements asked for from thence as should make good the deficiencies, but even a large augmentation of force, if any

* See the extract from Mengin in page 175, who also mentions Tossoon's retirement with his troops to Yambo, till reinforcements should arrive.

good result was to be expected: so formidable a picture was given of the Wahabees, both as to their own valour, and the great strength and importance of the post which they had taken.

Thus crippled in our strength, and the troops themselves low in spirits and desponding, it was thought advisable to confine them very much to close quarters within the fortifications of the town; small skirmishing parties did indeed occasionally sally out, and had little encounters with detachments of the enemy, but none at all that were considerable or decisive, nor did anything worthy of remark occur during nearly four months that were spent in that state of inactivity.

Yet long before the expiration of that time it became known that advices had

been received from Mahomet Ali, full of regret and disappointment at what had happened, but with strong exhortations, also, to fresh exertion towards wresting from our opponents that mountain-pass which was the key to the interior, and concluding with the promise of ample and immediate reinforcements, and supplies of whatsoever might be wanting.

Nor were we deceived in our expectations; for the new detachments began already to arrive, and in such numbers as to give quite new life and a new appearance to the army, so that it very soon after became necessary to quit the walls, and to encamp upon the outside, in order to find sufficient space; and all resumed again an appearance of military bustle and activity, with inspections and reviews, both of horse

and foot, going on daily,—Tossoon doing his utmost to train and harden his men before a fresh campaign, and to inure them to the endurance of heat and fatigue; while the soldiers were reviving gradually to their former pitch of courage and enterprize at the improved aspect of their numbers and condition, and were longing for their revenge upon the Wahabées; who, upon their side, as well aware of the increase of our force, as of the infinite importance of their own position, were not wanting in the provision of means of resistance, and in fortifying themselves, to the utmost of their power, with the construction of additional breastworks and batteries.

I mentioned that when, during the night of the defeat at Jedeed Bogaz, I reached

the spring of water, I had imprudently not confined myself to drinking, but had also bathed in it. The consequence was, that from that time my whole frame became disordered, and I suffered the greatest torture from rheumatic pains; the want of clothes and of necessary comforts so confirming and increasing the complaint, that I was obliged to pass most part of my time within doors, without being able to take any share at all in the military evolutions, or the service of the garrison.

Perceiving myself, therefore, to be quite disqualified from prosecuting the next campaign, I thought of returning to Cairo, in order to attend to my health; but, since I could not compass this without obtaining leave from the general-in-chief*, I waited

* Those who, after the defeat, returned to Egypt

upon him to request it, explaining to him how in my present condition I had become quite disabled.

Tossoon Pasha was not much pleased with such a proposition, and at first flatly refused it, answering that not a single soldier could be spared from the army, while the safety and honour of Egypt were at stake, as they now were. But, continuing to plead my illness and incapacity (as I well might, since I was suffering at the very moment of speaking, and had had very little ease during the last four or five months), he ordered me at length to be very

without leave, were very ill-received by Mahomet Ali, and with their officers ordered to return to Albania.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 388; who adds, in the same page,—En même tems, le gouvernement fit publier dans tous les quartiers de la ville, que les soldats déserteurs seraient arrêtés, dépouillés, et mis en prison; qu'ils ne pouvaient se racheter qu'à prix d'argent.

strictly examined by his European army-surgeons, who, in their report, confirmed my representation so entirely, that within four days afterwards, it was notified that I was to be conveyed to Suez, in some transports that were bound thither immediately.

Anxious as I was to recover my health, it was yet a great mortification to me when I thought of leaving all my comrades, and an honourable service, under a brave, though not a fortunate commander; and as I turned them in my mind, during the few intervening days, these reflections pressed so much upon me, that I could not bear to go, without having first expressed to our young Pasha himself how much I felt them, and with how much real regret I was about to withdraw from him.

With this view, I watched my opportunity for a second audience, and found one in the forenoon, while all his principal officers were standing about him.

He now recognized me at first sight (which had not happened, or at least was not expressed in the former interview) as the person who had swam on board his vessel, and spoke very kindly to me, which gave an opening for calling to his recollection that I was under an earlier obligation to him, being the corporal whom he had bought off from an affair that threatened my life in Egypt,—a benefit never to be forgotten, and which greatly increased my regrets that bodily infirmity, just at this critical time, should disqualify me from serving him, but that my attachment and gratitude were unalterable.

He listened most condescendingly, and said that he doubted not, that, had it so pleased God, I should have continued to have served him well; and with that, after a small present had been ordered to be given to me, I was graciously dismissed.

In a few days I bade farewell to all my companions in arms, and was received into the transport that was to sail direct for the port of Suez, conveying, also, about forty other invalids, who, like myself, were on their return to Cairo.

My ill-fortune did not even quit me here; for the winds were always contrary, and the currents of the Red Sea so violent in certain parts, as to retard our progress beyond all calculation; so that it was not till after forty days of the worst possible passage, that we cast anchor in safety.

The sight of Suez, however, turned me to reflecting how very few of those who had set out from thence with me would ever return at all, and made me sensible that I ought to feel grateful to Providence.

When landed, after staying a very few days to rest and refresh myself there, I made my journey to the capital.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author's Divorce—buys Horses for an English Officer—Mahomet Ali takes the Command in Arabia—Sheriff of Mecca—Regency—Letif Pasha—his Honours, and Conspiracy—besieged in his House, taken, and executed—Return of the Author to the Army—Siege and Capture of Confuta—the Author's post at a Well—Defeat there, and Flight—Confuta retaken—Lid—Mutinous Spirit.

With whatever eagerness I returned home, and to my wife, it was yet with the abatement of many misgivings, and a secret dread of domestic discomfort; for I had been absent but a very short time, when I received hints from friends of mine, resident in Cairo, that there were appearances of great levity of conduct, and that those with whom I had placed her were unwilling to

continue the charge; further inquiry now upon the spot, tended rather to increase than to allay such suspicions; and her altered carriage towards me, seeming fully to confirm them, gave me very great uneasiness: and it so happened, that just at that time, a vessel, freighted from Albania for Alexandria, brought a letter addressed to me almost at hazard, which, falling into the hands of a friend of mine, was immediately forwarded. I found that it was from Fatima; but how she had contrived to get it written, or directed, or conveyed, I have never learned: it is probable, however, that some of the crew of the merchant-ship which brought me may have communicated afterwards with those searching for me in Scutari, or the pistols which I presented to the captain may have been traced.

It is plain, however, that I was supposed to be alive, and in Egypt.

The letter was full of reproaches for having forsaken her, and informed me of the birth of a boy. Supposing, also, that my condition of life was the same as that in which she had last seen me, a trifling present of linen was mentioned as being sent, which was, however, never delivered to me.

Such proofs of kindness and attachment called up so strongly the endearing images of a first passion, as to fortify me not a little in my present feelings of disgust, and to dispose me to the immediate remedy of a divorce; to which my wife assenting, we both made our appearance before a person in authority in the law, to whom we certified our intention; and she, receiving back

what had been settled on her at her marriage, our union was declared to be dissolved.

Thus easily is this matter disposed of among Mahometans, so soon as the parties become indifferent to one another; and it seems to be perhaps the only mode of preventing those lamentable disorders which abound in countries where matrimony once contracted becomes indissoluble.

Not that I have any desire to make a panegyric upon Eastern customs or morals, for I know very well that the too great facility with which divorce is there obtained, tends to make wedlock lightly thought of, and engaged in heedlessly, and is attended with many inconveniences: but still, I cannot help thinking, that where divorce is attainable, under certain whole-

some restrictions, it may be of great practical advantage.

I will here quit my own personal narrative for a moment, to say a word on public affairs, and of what was passing in the city at that period.

Mahomet Ali was directing all his efforts and undivided attention to the war in Arabia, which was become doubly formidable, not only from the resolute conduct of the Wahabees themselves, but from the connivance and co-operation with them of the Sheriff of Mecca, artfully represented by him at first to be compulsory, but now more than suspected to be willing, and from private views of his own. He was known, indeed, to have no leaning to the tenets of the sectaries; but the war, while it weakened both parties, still left him with some

shadow of power; and he might dread the too near neighbourhood of the Pasha of Egypt, and the effects of his becoming too strong.

It was not, therefore, reinforcement only that would be wanting, but some person of tried experience and conduct, to be associated with Tossoon in the command of the expedition; and, for this purpose, Mustapha Bey * was selected, his uncle by marriage, and sent with a body of cavalry to join him at Yambo.

Some months afterwards, however, the great Pasha himself, growing more and more anxious, and thinking that his own presence might best secure success to the

* "Oct. 1812. On alimentait l'armée d'Arabie de tous les renforts nécessaires en infanterie et cavalerie. Moustapha Bey, beaufrère du vicèroi, recut l'ordre de partir avec un corps de Dehlys."—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 396.

next campaign, determined upon going in person: arrangements were therefore promptly entered into for the administration of affairs at home in his absence; and all the disposable force collected for accompanying him, an early day being fixed for his departure.

I shall not fail, in the sequel, to speak of his great successes in their place; but must take up, in the mean time, the thread of my own adventures where I dropped it for this digression.

After my divorce, I remained stationary and quiet for some little time, taking all precaution and remedies for conquering that rheumatic affection which had so long been troublesome and painful to me; but I owe my recovery perhaps more than all, to the air and water of Cairo, which

have always agreed with me beyond all others.

So soon as I felt myself quite restored, I disliked remaining idle, and became eager again for some active employment; and there arrived just then a captain of an English cavalry regiment, sent over by his government to purchase some Egyptian horses; he brought with him a suite of twelve dragoons, and was treated with great consideration, as he had strong recommendations to all the authorities.

I no sooner heard of this stranger's arrival in Cairo, than I offered my services through a friend who had access to him; and being found in an interview to be tolerably conversant with the business, he gave me the commission to look out for horses of a certain standard, respecting

which I received his instructions, and agreed that I should have a scudo for every one that should be approved.

I succeeded in procuring for him, upon these terms, between thirty and forty, and received my pay accordingly; but he, seeming unwilling to part with me, pressed me to go down with him so far as Aboukir, where the whole stud (consisting not only of such as I had found for him, but of many others besides, collected by other agents) was to be embarked, and I made no difficulty in consenting.

But, before we set out, information having been received that the Arabs frequenting the district, through which we were to pass, had laid a plan for stealing the horses, it was thought advisable to apply to government, who appointed an

escort of about fifty soldiers, and made them responsible.

Notwithstanding which, in our way to Rosetta, we not only fell in with several lurking hordes, but attempts, in more than one instance, were actually made for carrying off their prey during the night.

We reached Aboukir, however, without any losses, and there put all safe on board; the officer, upon embarking himself, taking a kind leave of me, and rewarding me handsomely. It is matter of regret to me, that I am not now able to call his name to mind, since I would willingly have coupled it with the expression of my grateful recollections *.

* I know as little as the author who this British officer was; it is probable that he may have been sent from Malta, or perhaps from Sicily.

During the time that I have been speaking of, not only had Mahomet Ali taken his departure, but the career of his successes had already begun; so that when I reached Cairo on my return, I found it full of public rejoicings upon that account. For it appeared that the Pasha no sooner reached Lembi, than he carried forward his whole army at once to Jedeed Bogaz; and, finding it but feebly guarded, forced that pass, and sent a strong detachment through it to Medina, and then, turning himself to the coast, sailed for Djidda *,

* Mengin dates the landing of Mahomet Ali at Djidda (with a suite of only sixty persons) in August, 1813, but omits to speak of his previous landing at Jambo, and march to Jedeed Bogaz. It appears, from his account, that Tossoon and Mustapha Bey had met with successes, and that Medina had been in their hands, but that all the country had since revolted from them, which was the object of the Pasha's now coming in person;

from whence he made his way to Mecca almost immediately, where the Sheriff, seeing the power of his late confederates or oppressors (be they which they will) so humbled, and the ascendancy of that great man, who was now at his gates, so complete, thought it the wisest course to set them open, and to welcome him as a deliverer; and being left unmolested in his palace for some time after the occupation of the city, he began to flatter himself that his arts had succeeded.

But Mahomet Ali deceived the deceiver, for he laid a snare in a visit to which he invited him, and detained him a close prisoner from that hour, which was the

and, indeed, so often did the defile of Jedeed Bogaz change hands, according to the circumstances of the war, that we find it once more in the hands of the Arabs subsequent to June, 1814.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 27.

end of all his crooked policy and intrigues *.

It is held to be a sort of sacred ordinance that, let the occasion be what it may, no man must lay violent hands on the Sheriff of Mecca, a forbearance due to the guardian and minister of the temple of the Prophet, and the chief of all his posterity.

Had this superstitious reverence not existed, it can hardly be doubted that his head would have paid the forfeit of those relations which he had held with the enemies of the Porte †, and of his own double-

* Tossoon was the person who carried the plan into effect, and secured his person, according to Mengin, pleading (and actually exhibiting) an order from the Porte.—vol. ii., p. 3.

† Ali Bey says, "The Sultan Scherif was the natural and immediate sovereign; notwithstanding which, the Sultan of Constantinople was acknowledged there as supreme monarch, and mention was made of him in this

dealings; but the maxim was scrupulously adhered to, and his life spared, or reserved, at least, for the will of the Sultan.

He was sent off to Cairo under a strong escort *, and there lodged in the immediate custody of those three persons to whom the administration of the government had been principally committed, as a sort of regency, Ibrahim Bey, Hassan Pasha, the Albanian, and the Kiaha Bey (who had, moreover, specially the com-

quality in the sermons upon Fridays, even whilst Sahoud (the Wahabee) was reigning in the country with his troops.—vol. ii., p. 123.

* According to Mengin, vol. ii., p. 4, he was embarked at Djidda, and thence carried across to Copeir, and so to the Nile. He arrived at Old Cairo, December 4, 1813. The Kiayah Bey himself received him and lodged him as a sort of state-prisoner in his brother's house; from whence, after the receipt of an order respecting him from the Porte, he was sent to Salonica, where he died.

mand of the citadel): they were directed to forward the prisoner to Constantinople, and warned, that, since his person was of infinite importance, the charge should be consigned only to such hands as could be implicitly depended upon. A Mameluke of the Pasha's own household * was, therefore, pointed out by name in his despatch, as a proper person to be entrusted.

Since, however, it was not commanded that this removal should be immediate, the Regency, exercising a discretion, judged it best that the Sultan should have previous notice both of the great news from Arabia, and of the state-prisoner's arrival, that his pleasure might be known respecting him; and the Mameluke in question was ap-

* He had the office of "Anaktâr Aghasi," treasurer, or privy-purse, to the Pasha.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 9.

pointed to that mission accordingly *, which was punctually and ably discharged, and Salonica named by the Porte as the place of exile for the Sheriff.

So gratified had the Ottoman court been at the intelligence, and at the manner of its delivery, that presents and honours were showered in profusion upon the bearer of it, who returned from thence a Pasha of two Tails, with the name of Letif Pasha,

* Mengin dates Latiss's mission to Constantinople earlier, and represents it as being for the delivery of the keys of Medina.—vol. ii., p. 397. The account, however, of his proceedings at Cairo which gave umbrage—of the defence of his house—escape—and execution, agree in most material circumstances, and in some very minute ones, with the text.—vol. ii., pp. 6, 7, 8. A prediction is also mentioned, that a Dervish was said to have made to him of his being destined to the sovereignty of Egypt. Is it not most likely that he was in reality suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the Porte, which had conferred on him such disproportionate honours?

and was at once placed in a situation to make a great figure.

Such a leap from the condition of a simple Mameluke, soon quite turned his head, and he seemed to forget altogether both his origin and his obligations to those who had raised him, although so recent.

His insolence to all became intolerable, and towards inferiors he was guilty of many abuses of power.

Proceeding onwards in his folly from one step to another, he not only disgusted, but even seemed to set himself in open opposition to those three chiefs who were invested with his master's authority; his house became the known rendezvous of all the disaffected and discontented; and several of the small and obscure remnant of the old Mamelukes were observed to be in his con-

fidence: with such symptoms as these, that some plot was fomenting there can be no sort of doubt, though its nature, extent, and object might not be so precisely known, but personal ambition seems to have been at the bottom of it, and those who exercised the deputed power could hardly have been dispossessed, without the project of deposing the Pasha also. Yet it seems an unaccountable instance of infatuation and temerity that quite a new man, without any strong or definite party formed in the state, should think such attempts within his reach, and thus in a manner wantonly commit himself.

Foolish, however, and unadvised as the prime mover of the mischief seemed to be, such a conspiracy might yet become very formidable if suffered to ripen, and especially

in the absence of the ruler. Much credit is therefore due to the vigilance and promptitude of the Kiayah Bey (governor of the citadel), who, calling his colleagues together, laid the crisis before them, and recommended that strong and sudden measures should be taken for seizing the person of Letif the next day; to which both of them assented, and Ibrahim personally undertook the charge.

The delinquent was known to be too well upon his guard, and with much too numerous a retinue about him, to be taken without the risk of a strong resistance; in which case it had been determined to lay regular siege, and that neither his house, treasure, nor person should be spared.

Accordingly Letif's residence was invested, before daylight, with a large force;

and he, with his Mamelukes about him, prepared for a gallant defence—a brisk fire being opened and continued upon both sides, which threw the whole city into consternation and commotion; and since it seemed to be a sort of signal for tumult and party violence, it was made a pretext for many outrages in other quarters of the town.

After many hours of obstinate resistance from within, the soldiers of Ibrahim Bey prevailed at last, and forced their way, seizing upon everything that fell into their hands, whether arms, moveables, treasure, slaves, or women. But Letif Pasha was nowhere to be found.

This caused the greatest disappointment and uneasiness, since, without the possession of his person, nothing had been done. The

furniture, the floors, and even the very walls, were torn to pieces in the search after him, till it became evident that no hiding-place was left: the closest watch, however, was still kept, and every possible inquiry made, but in vain.

He had, as it afterwards appeared, leaped from the terrace-roof of his house upon terraces adjoining, and so had contrived to get access unobserved to the oven of a neighbour, in which he had secreted himself, with two of his faithful Mamelukes.

Ibrahim Pasha, surprised and mortified as he was, at not being able to discover him, yet felt confident that he could not possibly be far off, and went therefore himself with his guard in quest of him through all the houses of that quarter; and it did so happen that he actually passed

close in front of the very oven in which lay the object of all his anxiety; but it not appearing a place in which any man could lie, he did not stop to examine it. He had, however, taken the precaution to station soldiers in every spot which he had visited; and the outhouse in which was this oven, fell to the charge of one of his Albanians.

The conclusion of the adventure is sufficiently remarkable, for Letif Pasha, perceiving that it would be quite impossible to elude this sentry, posted so near him, resolved to try the effect of a bribe; and so came forward of himself from his hiding-place, the other making ready at the same time to seize him.

The offer was ready and at hand—a ring worn upon his finger, of immense value which so dazzled and tempted the Alba

nian, that he took it, and suffered the fugitive to go his way, with his two attendant Mamelukes, who were faithful to the last.

They had not, however, gone far, before they were seen by some of the other soldiers, and instantly secured by them—a service that was handsomely rewarded by the government, which was thus freed from a great uneasiness; and there was, indeed, a very general rejoicing when the capture was known.

Nothing now remained but the arrangements for a public execution, which, for the sake of example, had been resolved upon, and the citadel fixed upon as the scene; so that this fell within the department of the Kiayah Bey, who ordered that all the way thither should be lined with troops under arms, and the prisoner marched through

them, under an escort, in a sort of barbarous triumph, which occupied some time.

When he had reached the spot appointed for his execution, all firmness and manliness forsook him; and as he heard his sentence pronounced, and the signal even for his death-blow given, he made a last effort to obtain mercy in catching hold of the governor's sword-knot, who stood near him, and grasped it so fast, that the fingers could never be disengaged; so that it was cut through in order to remove him a few paces to a flight of steps that was near, where his head was struck off, which I afterwards saw exposed at the gate*.

Such was the miserable end of Letif Pasha, who died very little lamented by

* Bâb el Zoueyleh. *Mengin.*

any body; and I heard afterwards that Mahomet Ali expressed himself highly satisfied that a man at once so ungrateful and so dangerous had been put out of the way.

These transactions had, during a short interval, called off the attention in Cairo from the Arabian campaign; but recruits were still in demand, for not only the important cities now in our hands required large garrisons, but a formidable force still kept the field against us, and there were many strong places of inferior note to be reduced; consequently bodies of troops were sent off almost daily, as fast as they could be collected and enrolled.

I was myself already beginning to be weary of a life of inactivity; and the news of the successes, and the sight of these

large levies, inspired me with a strong desire of again entering the service, which (as I was seldom long in forming my resolutions) I did almost immediately, in a corps of Albanians that was just upon the point of setting out *.

I shall say nothing of our march to Suez, or voyage from thence by sea, since it would be simply a repetition; for we touched only at the usual points for supplies in the passage to Yambo, from whence we sailed for Djidda, which we reached in

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 15, speaks of this reinforcement of Albanians, in the early part of 1814, and of the taking of Konfodah, p. 17, to besiege which Zaim Oglou, governor of Djidda, as he styles him, was sent, with 2000 infantry and 1200 cavalry. This, therefore, was the force found there when these new Albanian regiments joined. The object for taking Konfodah, which he assigns to Mahomet Ali, was, " de tenter une expédition sur l'Yémen, afin d'opérer une diversion."

four days, but set forward again from thence to the southward, being destined for the siege of Confûta, in the neighbourhood of which we landed.

It is but a small village in itself, situated close down to the water's edge; but its principal point of strength consists in the appendage of a fort or castle, placed at one of its extremities, which, though constructed of mud only, and weak and crumbling in appearance, was yet solidly built, and calculated to make a stout defence; it was also well garrisoned, for great numbers of Wahabees, driven out from other places, had fled hither for refuge.

Upon our part, there were cantonments of soldiery scattered about in the neighbourhood, to the number of nearly two thousand, who were to keep the place in

check till that expected reinforcement, of which we made a part, should arrive, and give them strength sufficient to carry it by assault. They had, however, previous to our arrival, succeeded in crippling and annoying the enemy materially, by the capture of ten small vessels belonging to them, made use of in obtaining supplies from places in their correspondence.

The besieged no sooner saw an additional force disembarked, than they determined at once on their plan of defence; and seeing that it was impossible that the open village could hold out long against an attack, resolved to provision the castle to their utmost, and to rest all their hopes upon that; yet to defend themselves in their houses as long as they could, and not to shut themselves up till the last.

As in many other Arabian towns, there is no natural supply of water*; the nearest spring, which is that to which the inhabitants used to resort, being at the distance of three hours. The cisterns of the village had still a stock remaining in them, but there were no means of increasing or replenishing it.

The first care, therefore, of the Wahabees was to transport all this, and deposit it in a great reservoir within the castle, with a strict determination to put themselves on the lowest possible allowance, and

* "Konfodah est privé d'eau : la source où les habitans vont puiser celle dont ils se servent est à une lieue de distance."—vol. ii., p. 48. Mengin here understates the distance from the spring, and is not aware that any force at all had been stationed to protect it, but describes the loss of it, and the rout of the army, and panic at Konfodah, and the rush to the shipping, just as in the text.

not to consume one drop of it that might be spared.

This precautionary measure was so expeditiously effected, that it was finished before our numbers could be all drawn together and combined for the assault, though this was not delayed beyond the third day after our joining.

The Albanian Bey, whose name was Zaim Oglou, under whom I served, was first in command; and a very foremost and important post was assigned us in consequence, in the attack on the village, which was bravely and resolutely maintained against our whole force during several hours; but it was not tenable, and when it was perceived that we were gaining ground, and had even got some footing within it, at a sudden signal all retreated

at once into the castle, as had been arranged beforehand; and we, being now left masters of all the rest, turned our whole attention and efforts to dislodging them from thence, which promised to be no very easy matter: for though we took all advantages of ground, and brought all our cannon into full play, yet the whole fabric being of earth, or of unbaked brick, the balls only sunk into the walls and bastions, without further destroying them; and when, by order of our Bey-commandant, we approached for an assault, those within found means of directing a fire upon us, from their matchlocks and small field-pieces, through loop-holes scarcely perceptible, so as to do great execution amongst us, without our being able to do the smallest upon them in return; so that,

after two days spent in such attempts, all became dispirited, and we received orders to throw up works about the fortress, so as completely to blockade it, and starve the besieged to a surrender.

They themselves, however, brought the matter to a much speedier issue; for on the very day following (being the fourth), whether already become desperate from the actual want of provisions, or only at the near prospect of it (for little else was found in store besides the water), or whether they thought that they could perceive us to be off our guard at the moment, they determined on attempting a sortie, before our works should be completed round them.

It was fortunate that we gave way to them in the first instant, and let them

force a passage; for we not only got them thus between two fires (there being another detachment of our own beyond us), but were enabled also to secure the gate before it was closed after them, and so got possession of the castle.

But the resistance did not end here; for those who could expect no quarter, were resolved at least to sell their lives dearly; and from the smallness of the space, and closeness of contact among the parties, the savage scene of carnage became dreadful in the interior; not only the swords and knives, but even the very teeth and nails, of the combatants being made use of in their fury. Several of our soldiers were killed, or rather torn to pieces, in this horrid encounter; and not one found there upon the other side was left alive, though their number was very considerable.

A small portion of the best judging amongst them, aware that the project of holding out long was but a vain boast, had found means of withdrawing themselves secretly by the water-gate, during the very first night after they had taken refuge within the castle, and were all that escaped, whether of the garrison or population of the place.

But our Bey, blood-thirsty by disposition, and now exasperated, determined that not a single Wahabee should survive within his reach, and published, therefore, a reward of two hundred piastres* for

* At a somewhat later period of the war Mengin says, vol. ii., p. 121, "Ibrahim (Pasha) faisoit payer par son trésorier 50 piastres pour une tête, ou deux oreilles." Mahomet Ali had pursued a different course, for he "envoyait aussi des reconnaissances, en recommandant aux soldats de n'attaquer jamais, et de ne pas faire périr les prisonniers."—vol. ii., p. 19.

every ear or head of one that should be brought to him by his troops; upon which the Albanians, who are naturally greedy, went about in every direction to reap their bloody harvest. It was in vain for the younger, among the seized or suspected, to hope or plead for any mercy; but those more advanced, who were found lurking in their miserable huts, had their lives spared at the expense of their ears, which was a sort of compromise between avarice and compassion; and violences of this description were carried on for several days, until prohibited at last by authority.

It had been determined that Confûta should be maintained as a military post, and a garrison established there, which was divided into three portions: one occupying the castle, one quartered in the village,

and the third in cantonments, for escorting provisions and supplies, that would be necessary from time to time; the three different services being appointed to be taken by turns.

Much water, from that reservoir which had been filled with so much care, was expended in the mere cleansing and purifying of a scene of so much bloodshed, and the remainder was so little husbanded at first, that it soon failed entirely, and none could be had within a distance of less than three hours, besides the irksomeness of conveying it so far over a desert of loose sand.

The spring in question, however, was become a point of great importance, and since it was feared that it might be poisoned by the enemy, (whom we knew to be

scattered about, and now rather increasing in numbers in that direction,) a fixed guard was stationed there of two hundred men, who might protect it, and keep them in check; and the force appearing insufficient, it was augmented soon afterwards by almost an equal body of cavalry, who were sent from Mecca, but so much harassed by the journey and climate, that they were in no condition to be of much use, should any strong effort be made.

I had been myself at first included among those quartered in the village, but my turn came to be one of the water-guard, just before this inefficient reinforcement arrived.

The very morning after which, we heard, soon after daybreak, that the Wahabees, who had been collecting previously

in great force, at about seven miles distance, were advancing upon us, aware, no doubt, of the unserviceable condition of the new comers, and determined, therefore, to allow them no time for becoming formidable.

We ourselves, equally sensible of this disadvantage, and of our inadequacy to the contest in a numerical point of view, sent off an express to ask for additional strength from the castle; but the time required for the journey of the messenger, and for the ordering and march of the troops sent off to our assistance, was so considerable, that we were constrained to come to action before they could reach us.

When the enemy got in sight, they seemed shy at first, and continued skirmishing at a short distance, as if to ascer-

tain the real condition of our force; but as it must have been soon plain to all how much we were outnumbered, they began their attack.

Our cavalry, so unfit for action as it was, could do but little, and no sooner was it hotly pressed, than it gave way and took to flight; but the two hundred infantry, nevertheless, stood their ground manfully, in the expectation of being momentarily relieved, or reinforced; but after near three-fourths of them had been killed, the small remainder was at last compelled to fly, the Wahabees still pursuing and cutting them down, so that very few of them indeed made good their retreat.

Yet although the issue of their obstinate and protracted resistance was, as it proved, so disastrous, it had, in point of fact, given

ample time for those sent to our succour from Confûta to have arrived, had nothing intervened to deter them; for they were not only on their march, but actually near us, when the mounted fugitives most unfortunately met them, and representing all as already lost, and their pursuers close at hand, by their confused and terrified accounts spread such a panic, that the whole body at once turned back again, and joined them in their flight, carrying with them into the garrison the contagion of the same blind apprehensions, which had such an effect there, that all, conceiving the exaggerated numbers to be quite irresistible, and dreading above all things to be shut up now that water was cut off from them, with one impulse made a rush towards the shipping, that they might secure themselves, and escape by sea.

For my own part, I had been one of those foot soldiers who had maintained the combat, near the spring, so long as there were any to make head with me, and, when the complete rout began, was endeavouring to escape, with a few more, as well as I could; but in the precipitation of flight I lost my shoes in the loose sand, the scorching heat of which soon blistered the soles of my feet to that degree, that I was unable to proceed at all, and was actually flinging myself down in despair, with no other resolution but to die, when by chance one of our cavalry troop passed very close to me—one of those doubtless who in the first hurry of the flight had gone wide of the track, and had just recovered the traces of his companions.

His speed was not so great as he pro-

bably wished it, for the horse was jaded, yet the sight gave me courage, and I collected strength enough to run after, though I was not able to leap up behind, so that I caught fast hold first of the stirrup, and afterwards of the tail; but the soldier either in his haste mistaking me for an enemy, or thinking that I impeded his escape, turned round, and fired. I had no breath for entreaty, so I only stooped and evaded the bullet, without quitting my grasp, which still served to pull me along. Yet in my rage I had contrived to snatch out my own pistol, and both fired and flung it at him, though quite without effect. I was thus hurried and dragged along for a great many hundred yards, and the incident had certainly the effect of saving my life, for it gave a new turn to my spirits and energies,

and I found myself all at once also (though still distant) in sight of Confûta, and with difficulty persevered in crawling thither.

All appeared in the utmost confusion, both in the castle and the village, the vessels already swarming with troops, and others wading to them eagerly, or hurrying down with bundles and luggage. There was nobody in a state to be inquired of, or to answer me, so I got to the beach, and there, not knowing what else to do, or which way to turn, followed the example of the rest, and threw my clothes off that I might swim on board.

Our commandant's bloody edict had been revoked some time, so that a considerable number of prisoners had been brought in of late, or sent to us from other places, who were embarked on board some

of the craft as prison ships, and it so happened that inadvertently I made my way to one of these; but no sooner did I raise my hands from the water against the side, for the purpose of climbing into it, than the Wahabee captives, full of hope and spirits at what they saw, and ready as it seemed to seize their opportunity, or else dreading some violence, struck a blow at me with some sharp and heavy instrument, that brought the blood after it in great quantities. I lost for a time all sense, and can hardly conceive by what lucky accident I was saved from drowning.

When, however, I came to myself, I found that I had been drawn up into a vessel that was occupied by my comrades, who had been revenging the outrage upon me, by a brisk discharge of their fire-arms;

and, owing to the crowded state of the little prison ship, had done great execution.

I lay there so weak, and in such a state of stupor, that I had no part in a last rallying effort which the Bey commandant made to save this important post from the enemy.

He had unquestionably himself great personal bravery; and feeling quite ashamed and irritated at the dastardly spirit that had shewn itself, gave out that if none would follow him he would expose himself alone; and so, by shaming some, and encouraging others, collected all the most forward among the troops and led them again on shore, where he posted them advantageously upon ground commanding in some measure the land-approach.

But when the Wahabees appeared, it

became evident that the delay in this advance (for it was not till the day following that of our defeat) had been employed to great purpose in augmenting their numbers; for they were now really become such as quite to overwhelm, what might be considered, comparatively, a mere handful opposed to them, so that there was a great loss upon our side; and the remainder, after exploding our powder magazine, were driven to take refuge again on board, whilst the enemy repossessed themselves of Confûta.

Upon embarkation, it had been intended that our little fleet should continue hovering near the spot, that we might take advantage of the very first opportunity for driving them out, since their provisions were not likely to suffice for a large perma-

nent garrison; but a well directed fire from both their cannon and muskets made it quite impossible for us to lie close into shore in that neighbourhood, or to have effected any landing, had we wished it. We were therefore ordered to remove to Lid, another town or village with a castle attached to it, situated about an hour from the coast, and in our possession; we sailed therefore for the nearest point, and there landing, marched for our new quarters accordingly, where we found ourselves without any settled plan for ulterior operations.

Our reverses must have been a cruel disappointment to Mahomet Ali*; and he

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 18. "Le viceroi étoit consterné lorsqu'il connut ce désastre. En effet cette déroute et la défaite de Tarabé qui se suivirent preque dans le même tems, étoient accablantes pour lui." It will be seen, in

who had himself so much the art not only of commanding success, but of securing and profiting by it when obtained, might well reproach both leaders and men in this instance as unworthy of all military confidence.

The extreme imprudence of the Bey was much blamed, amongst other things, in having suffered great part of the troops to remain panic-struck on board, and in having led a detachment only, against the full force of the enemy; but in answer to this, it must be admitted that we should still have been inferior to them notwithstanding, and that it was essential to leave some in charge of the shipping and the prisoners.

the narrative of our author, that about three months or more must have intervened between the defeat at Confûta, and that at Taraba.

Discussions of this sort took place even among the soldiers themselves, who, murmuring, and becoming discontented with a leader in whom they had no confidence, it was only by the fear of throwing every thing into disorder, and by the difficulty of traversing a country unknown to most of them, that they were induced to remain quietly where they were.

Meantime it being necessary that the Bey himself should send official intelligence, he took the precaution to give his despatches to such officers as he thought most implicated in the disaster, that they might represent the matter in as favourable a light as it would bear.

Four was the number thus selected to be sent to Mecca, who were all supposed

also to have interest and good friends at court.

As they were setting off, it was a curious sight to see how the soldiers thronged round them, every one begging to be well reported at head-quarters, and pouring out his individual professions of good conduct and intrepid courage.

They could not be repressed or silenced, for the spirit of insubordination was already amongst them, and soon increased so much, that several bodies of troops chose out spots for themselves, and encamped quite apart, waiting, as they gave out, till they should have a new commander set over them.

And here, as I close this chapter, I trust that the details which I give of this war

will not be deemed too minute, when the reader recollects that I am not attempting to give any general picture of it, but only of such facts and circumstances as fell within my own observation, and form incidents in my own life.

CHAPTER V.

Desertion—Thirst and sufferings—Mecca—The Kaaba—Pilgrims—Ceremonies—Vale of Arafat—Sacrifice—Interview with Mahomet Ali—Journey to Taifa—Djibbel Kara—Tossoon Pasha defeated at Taraba—His Camp at Ciulla—Barusce—Ill success and retreat—Two Wahabee Chiefs taken, and executed—The enemy combine—Mahomet Ali expected in the Camp.

Towards the end of the last chapter I spoke of the departure of the four officers, sent from Lid to Mahomet Ali Pasha, and of the state of anxious suspense in which the troops there were waiting, to know what could be done, and who would be set over them.

As to their present condition, there was no sort of order or discipline amongst

them, and the continual annoyance which they were exposed to from the enemy made their existence both uncomfortable and precarious, so that I heartily wished myself with any other portion of the army. Not a day passed without our being more or less engaged with the Wahabees, who were collected about us in great numbers, so as in a manner to surround our position, which was not even in itself a very strong one.

With respect to cavalry we had none, for, when we fled from Confûta, they all left us, and made their escape by land, so we saw no more of them, nor even knew where they were, but supposed them at Mecca.

We were suffering cruelly from the want of provisions, of water especially, so doubly

necessary in that parched and burning climate. The wells were at a great distance from us, and could not be approached without the utmost risk; but what was yet worse, they were rendered disgusting and unwholesome by the number of bodies of our dead comrades, which the enemy had thrown into them for the purpose.

There was no remedy for this evil, for we could neither discover other springs as a substitute, nor so purify them as to make them tolerably potable; and some among the soldiers nauseated such a beverage to that degree, that they preferred to die for want rather than continue it.

A great many deserted: so many, that the ranks were very materially thinned, and especially of the corps which I myself belonged to.

Nay, in a state of so much misery, I began to envy those who had taken that course, and was even preparing to follow their example: not that the step, on my part at least, had the character of a complete desertion, since I intended to join the main body of the army.

I took care, therefore, to provide whatever I thought I should stand in need of, and especially a skin, which might contain water for me in my flight.

If ever there was a resolution conceived and acted upon in despair, it was this; for I was to set out alone, a foreigner in an enemy's country, with which I was unacquainted, in a torrid climate, and very poorly supplied with the common necessaries of life; but at the time of lifting my wallet and water-skin on my shoulder,

I thought of nothing but the condition of wretchedness that I was escaping from.

Knowing nothing of the way, I thought of searching for the track * of the cavalry, who had withdrawn from Confûta, and followed that, when I had once found it, in the hope that it might lead me to Mecca, which was the point that I had fixed upon.

Often and often as I toiled along, through all the sufferings, and privations and terrors of that miserable journey, did

* When the sand of the desert is not very loose, it will retain the print of whatever passes over it for a very long while; in my own journey to Mount Sinai, in August, 1815, I was astonished to see tracks of wheels on some part of the way near Suez, and could not account for the appearance, till informed at Cairo, that the principal persons in the haram of the Pasha had returned by that route in European carriages three months before.

I feel that life was not worth preserving at such a price, and that mine was become no better than a burthen to me.

At other times I could still contrive to cheer myself, in looking to better days, and felt a longing desire for Italy, which had hardly been so present to me as now since I first left it; for my imagination even went so far as to call up the image, and the very voices of my father and mother to me, and of all my near connexions, and so threw me again into a fresh train of sorrow.

It was thus that my days and nights passed, as I proceeded upon a track to which I was an utter stranger, through a region that was destitute of every thing.

In the mean time, the supply of water

which I had taken with me was exhausted, and though I met with wells every now and then, from whence I could have drawn some, yet, upon approaching, I always found the same pestilential smell, and the same loathsome spectacle of the carcasses of soldiers thrown in by the Wahabees.

Driven, however, by thirst at last quite to desperation, I arrived one evening at the brink of a well so deep, that its contents were far beyond my reach, and for this reason perhaps it had not been thought worth while to taint its waters.

I took the expedient of forming a rope out of my sash and turban, and of all my clothes, even to my very shirt, which I stripped off for the purpose, and attaching the water skin to this, I let it down into

the well, and, in the space of about two hours, succeeded in filling it.

My thirst was thus allayed, but the quenching it only brought on a violent paroxysm of hunger, which, as all my provisions were at an end, I had not the means of satisfying.

It was now night, and the country in every direction a desert; so that there appeared no hope of my being able to save my life excepting by a forced march; accordingly I pressed forwards all night long, and, just at the dawn of day, I could perceive that upon some heights near me there were fires burning.

I hesitated at first in the thought of going up to them, but, starving as I was, to persist in going forward, was only to

proceed to certain death, and making my choice between the two perils, I determined to turn aside to them at all risks, even though those heights should be a position of the enemy.

Fortune favoured me in this instance, and I found myself in a far better situation than I had any right or reason to have expected.

For those who were lighting their fires there were a company of Bedouin Arabs, a race not generally very friendly, it is true, to the Egyptian soldiery*, having suffered

* Mengin speaks frequently of the hostility of the Bedouins, especially vol. ii., p. 19, and the pains taken to conciliate them; but vol. ii., p. 143, assigns a much baser motive for their being brought over to a more pacified disposition; "l'or et les présens furent prodigués aux chefs de tribus, qui ne respiraient que de la vengeance."

much during the war from the loss of cattle and property, and the greater part of them originally rather in the interest of the Wahabees than in ours; yet I threw myself on their hospitality, and they, seeing that I was in want, and ready to sink, without inquiring further, did me a thousand kind offices, and proceeded afterwards in the course of conversation to tell me, that they were quite weary of the disordered state of the country, and that the Pasha of Egypt, as the only person who could put an end to it, had their best wishes.

This was so encouraging, that I thought I might trust them further, and accordingly made it no secret that my object was to proceed to Mecca. Upon which they pressed me to continue in their company

as far as a spot which was their own destination, within four hours of the city.

They shewed me every possible mark of kindness and friendly feeling, and supplied me with all the refreshments that I could want, making bread, and drawing milk, on purpose for me; and not only so, but mounted me on one of their own camels, which appeared a great luxury, after the toilsome march that I had hitherto made on foot.

In this manner we got the next day to the place which they had fixed for their halt, and there parting from them with the kiss of peace, and taking again to my feet, after a march of about four hours, I reached Mecca, which I had so long and ardently been desirous of seeing.

Exulting in my escape, my mind was in

a state to receive very strong impressions, and I was much struck with all that I saw upon entering the city: for though it is neither large, nor beautiful in itself, there is something in it that is calculated to impress a sort of awe, and it was the hour of noon, when every thing is very silent, except the Muezzims calling from the minarets.

The reader will perhaps forgive me if I pause a moment here in my narrative, to give some account, however imperfect, of such objects as particularly took my attention.

The principal feature of the city is that celebrated sacred inclosure which is placed about the centre of it; it is a vast paved court, with doorways opening into it from every side, and with a covered colonnade,

carried all round like a cloister, while in the midst of the open space stands the edifice, called the Kaaba, whose walls are covered entirely over on the outside with hangings of black velvet *, on which there are Arabic inscriptions embroidered in gold.

Facing one of its angles (for this little edifice is of a square form†) there is a well which is called the well Zemzem, of which the water is considered to be so peculiarly holy, that some of it is even sent annually to the Sultan at Constantinople; and no person who comes to Mecca, whether on pilgrimage, or for more worldly consi-

* Black *cloth*, according to Ali Bey, and I believe he is correct.

† Ali Bey, who took a rough admeasurement, says that it is not a correct square, no two sides corresponding exactly.

derations, ever fails both to drink of it, and to use it in his ablutions*, since it is supposed to wipe out the stain of all past transgressions.

There is a stone also near the bottom of the building itself †, which all the visitants kiss as they pass round it, and the multitude of them has been so prodigious as to have worn the surface quite away.

Quite detached, but fronting to the Kaaba, stand four pavilions, (corresponding to the four sects of the Mahometan religion,) adapted for the pilgrims; and though the concourse had of late years been from time to time much interrupted, there arrived, just when I came to Mecca,

* See Ali Bey's account of the immense quantity of water-vessels kept for its distribution, p. 82.

† There is a print in his works of the Black Stone, which is that here spoken of.

two caravans of them, one Asiatic, and one from the African side, the two together amounting to not less than about forty thousand persons, who all seemed to be full of reverence towards the holy place *.

Such an influx of strangers, added to the garrison kept there by our Pasha, (which was in itself pretty numerous,) tended prodigiously to throng this little Arabian city; and its accommodations becoming quite insufficient to lodge a multitude so much exceeding the usual average, the greater part passed the night outside the walls in tents, or huts, or on the bare ground; and so during the day time resorted in crowds to the place of devotion.

There arose also of course an extraordi-

* Ali Bey says that in 1807 there were 80,000 men went to Arafat, 2000 women, and 1000 children.—vol. ii. p. 52.

nary demand for all sorts of provisions and necessaries, which were in consequence sold at the most extravagant prices *; but this seemed to diminish nothing of the fervour and zeal of the visitants, nor at all to shorten their stay.

Over and above the general ceremonies of the purification at the well, and of the kissing of the corner-stone, and of the walking round the Kaaba a certain number of times in a devout manner †, every one has also his own separate prayer to put up, and so to fulfil the conditions of his vow, and the objects of his particular pilgrimage ‡.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 97.—All the provisions are dear, except meat.

† Seven times, according to Ali Bey, and kiss the black stone in the seventh tour.—vol. ii., p. 52.

‡ Ali Bey pretends to have made and observed a

Both within and without the circuit of the sacred inclosure, there is an immense quantity of pigeons, which are considered to be in some measure under the special protection of the Prophet, and consequently no person presumes to kill or to molest them; but many bring with them, even from the most distant countries, some small quantity of grain, with which they may take the opportunity of feeding these birds *.

Now that we are speaking of the superstitions and ceremonies of the place, I would mention that all the observances are by no means completed within the city.

particular vow of chastity, from the very moment of his setting out upon his journey in Morocco, which I conceive to be very unusual.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 117.—The number of pigeons is immense; they belong to no particular person, but fly freely about, and build their nests upon the roofs of the houses and holes in the walls.

For the pilgrims, after having performed their devotions for a certain time at the Kaaba, at last in a sort of procession go to a place called Arafat, an eminence which stands detached in the centre of a valley; and in the way thither there is a part of the road, for about the space of a mile, where it is customary to run—a practice for which I could not learn any better reason than that ancient tradition and usage have made it essential *.

The road also passes near a spot where was formerly a well, which is superstitiously supposed to be something unholy, and cursed by the prophet himself; and, for this reason, every pilgrim as he goes by it, throws a stone; and the custom is

* From Ali Bey's account, it should seem that the running was in the return from Arafat, directly after sunset.—vol. ii., p. 70.

so universal, and has prevailed so long, that none can now be picked up in the neighbourhood, and it is necessary, therefore, to provide them from a distance; and some persons even bring them out of their own remote countries, thinking thereby to gain the greater favour in the sight of heaven *.

Beyond this point stands a column †, which is set up as the extreme limit of the pilgrimage, and this every pilgrim must have passed before sunrise. While all such as have not gone beyond it by that

* Ali Bey mentions, in his road to Alifat, a fountain at Mina), in front of which is an ancient edifice, said to have been built by the devil; each pilgrim threw seven pebbles, the size of peas, picked up the night before at Mosdelifa.—p. 71.

† Ali Bey calls it a little stone pillar, about six feet high and two square, considered a work of the devil.—vol. ii., p. 72.

time must wait till the next year, if they wish to be entitled to the consideration and privileges of complete Hadjees, since, without this circumstance, all the rest remains imperfect.

The hill of Arafat lying at a distance of no less than seven hours from Mecca, it is necessary to set out very early, in order to be there in time; many of the pilgrims, and especially the more devout amongst them, performing all the way on foot.

When they have reached the place, all who have any money, according to their means, sacrifice one or more sheep; and the rich often furnish those who are poor and destitute with the means of buying one.

Such a quantity of sacrifices quite fills

the whole open space with victims, and the poor flock from all the country round, to have meat distributed to them.

After which, at the conclusion of the whole ceremony, all the names are registered by a scribe, appointed for the purpose; and when this is finished, the African and Asiatic caravans part company, and return to their own several countries: many detachments of the pilgrims visiting Medina in the way.

The reader will, it is hoped, pardon this digression, since I was present myself at all that I describe, and have thought that some slight notice of the course pursued in this famous pilgrimage would not appear to be out of place.

I now return to my own particular adventures: and what I first have to mention

is, that I had been in Mecca but a very few days, when I expressed to a friend, whom I found there, that I had a strong desire to speak with Mahomet Ali Pasha, and to tell him that I was one of those who had survived and escaped from the disasters of Confûta; that I came to throw myself under his protection, and to beg to be enrolled in some new division of his army.

There was, however, so much difficulty in obtaining personal access to him, that I determined on adopting the course which had been sometimes previously resorted to with success: that is to say, having got a memorial written for me in the Turkish language, I took it in my hand, and stood, holding it up directly facing one of the windows of the house which the Pasha

occupied *, hoping that, as he sometimes looked out that way, he might see me, and call me to him.

The house in question joined on to the inclosure of the great Temple, and one of the windows looking into the court, it was opposite to that particular spot where I posted myself with my paper. It was not, however, until after I had stood in this manner during the greater part of six days, that I at last succeeded in catching the Pasha's eye; who sent for me, and read the memorial †; upon which he fell into

* This is a common custom at Constantinople; it is seldom that the Sultan appears in public, but that such petitioners may be seen with their paper held above their head, which is sent for as soon as it attracts the observation of the sovereign.

† It is said that he has been taught both writing and reading since he acquired the sovereignty of Egypt.

the greatest rage imaginable; for, as it appeared, he had been informed but very imperfectly (so cautious had been the language of the despatches, and of the officers charged with them) of the failure and disasters at Confûta, and desired me to give him, for the first time, a detailed account of them.

He listened to me with the most patient attention, throwing in very acute questions every now and then; and when I proceeded to state my own destitute condition, he said that I ought to have gone on at once to Taif*, where I should have found

* Taif had been taken possession of a good while before by Mustapha Bey and Tossoon Pasha—*Mengin*, vol. i. p. 400; and afterwards was made the grand depôt for the army, and five thousand infantry, one thousand horse, and six pieces of artillery stationed there under Tossoon.—vol. ii. p. 10.

other regiments, in which I might have been enrolled: and upon this he gave me five hundred piasters to supply my immediate wants, and the expenses of the journey, and ordered me to set out without fail on the very next day, charging me strictly, at the same time, to tell no one in the interim how it came about that I was at Mecca, since it was of importance that no reverse or check should become generally talked of.

Having provided myself with what would be necessary, I set out, and, after a journey of several days, reached Taif, the place of my destination.

Before I take up my story at Taif, I will return to Mecca once more for a moment, to add some singular particulars which escaped me in my account of it, and

I would also say something of my journey from Mecca to Taif.

Many of the pilgrims go through the ceremony of making the entire circuit of the city upon the outside, and the order in which this is performed is as follows *:— The devotee first goes without the gates, and, after presenting himself there to the religious officer who presides, throws off all his clothes, and takes a sort of large wrapping garment in lieu of them to cover himself; upon which he sets off, walking at a very quick pace, or rather running, to

* The scene of this running of the pilgrims seems to be somewhat differently laid by Ali Bey, who says, "these being completed, there are a number of barbers in waiting to shave the pilgrims' heads, which they do very quickly." But he says that, in their manner of shaving, some alteration was made by the Wahabees at that time in authority, and therefore probably in the place also.

reach the nearest of the four corners of the city, a sort of guide going with him at the same rate all the way, who prompts certain ejaculations or prayers which he ought to make at particular spots as he passes; at every angle he finds a barber, who, with wonderful quickness, wets and shaves one quarter of his head: and so on, till he has reached the barber at the fourth angle, who completes the work. After which the pilgrim takes his clothes again, and has finished that act of devotion.

There is also near the holy city, an eminence called the Hill of Light*, as I

* A view is given in Ali Bey, vol. ii. plate 48, of Djebbel Nor, the Mountain of Light, but he could not visit it, it being specially prohibited by the Wahabees as a superstition. It was on this mountain that the angel Gabriel brought the first chapter of the Koran to the Prophet.

imagine, from its remarkable whiteness. Upon this the pilgrims have a custom of leaping, while they repeat, at the same time, prayers and verses of the Koran. Many also resort to a lesser hill, about a mile distant from the city, on which there is a small mosque, which is reputed as a place of great sanctity.

An annual ceremony takes place in the great temple itself, which is worth mentioning before I quit the subject altogether.

I have already spoken of the little square building, whose walls are covered with hangings of black and gold, and which is called the Kaaba. Once in the year, and once only, this holy of holies is opened *,

* Sometimes open three days, according to Ali Bey, (*Mengin*, vol. ii. p. 53,) who went into it, and says nothing of the supposed conditions annexed.

and as there is then nothing to prevent admission, it appears surprising at first to see so few who are willing to go into the interior, and especially since this act is supposed to have great efficacy in the remission of all past sins. But the reason must be sought for in the conditions which are annexed, since he who enters is, in the first place, bound to exercise no gainful trade or pursuit, nor to work for his livelihood in any way whatever; and next he must submit patiently to all offences and injuries, and must never again touch any thing that is impure or unholy.

Since it is not easy to find in the same person sufficient competence, with sufficient forbearance at the same time, and self-denial to fulfil these conditions, the number who enter the Kaaba is very

limited. Those who are disposed to smile at such superstitions, may recollect, that the conditions under which a novice enters upon any of the monastic orders in Italy differ little from these, except in being stricter and more binding; yet what numbers are always ready to profess in them! Is this from a greater indifference there to the pleasures of this life, or from a more assured confidence in the reward, or from a more lax interpretation and observance of the vow? I have not myself seen enough of European monasteries to be able to answer this question.

One more remark, with reference to the great scene of sacrifice at Arafat:—Though the Pasha's power in Arabia had been now for some time established, yet it was not complete or universal, by any means,—the

Wahabees still retaining, upon many sides, a very considerable footing, so that open and unprotected places, even within half a day's journey of Mecca, might be liable to surprise and violence.

This rendered both the resort to Arafat, and the ceremonies there, a matter of some hazard, and the more so, since the enemy knew perfectly well, that if they should fall on the pilgrims during these religious rites, they would find them not only unarmed, but even bound also by their law to employ no violence in their defence.

For these reasons the Pasha had judged it necessary, upon this occasion, to send a sufficient force to surround the district upon all sides*, so as to cover it completely

* In 1807, the Wahabees seem to have taken the same precaution.—See Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 69.

from all risk of attack, and it is owing, perhaps, to that precaution that such prodigious multitudes both went and returned without molestation or insult.

I will now say a few words respecting my journey to Taif*, which I made in a party of soldiers sent to escort a supply of provisions for that garrison.

In the way, it is necessary to pass over a ridge of mountains called Djibbel Kara, one of the highest that I have ever seen †; but the heat, which is intense at that season of the year, was such, that no attempt was made on our part until after sun-set,

* Mengin writes Tayef, Ali Bey, Taif, and says that it is included in the province of Hedjaz, but not in the Beled el Haran, or Holy Land.—vol. ii., p. 126.

† The highest mountains, Ali Bey says, are those of Medina and Taif, which towns are situated upon a bountiful land, with plenty of water, and covered with gardens and plantations.—vol. ii., p. 126.

to begin the ascent, though become comparatively easy of late; for till the last campaign this mountain had been only passable for men on foot, the broken ground and the precipices being such that beasts of burthen could not climb over them; but Mahomet Ali had, in his enlarged views, ordered a practicable road to be made, which was now completed, so that we went over conveniently enough, both on horses and camels.

The nights in those countries not being so thick and dark as in more northern climates, the traveller can pretty clearly distinguish all the objects upon his road.

Yet, notwithstanding, we had the precaution of a guide who led the way, carrying a light in his hand, which was of little other use than as a signal for keeping us together.

Seated comfortably, meanwhile, upon my camel, as our progress upwards was but slow, I had ample opportunity for observing the nature and aspect of that mountain, which is mostly cultivated, as well as abounding with fruit trees; and among the singularities which it presents is a multitude of the ape or monkey tribe, which I had not seen or heard of in other parts of Arabia.

At daybreak, we already thought ourselves close upon the highest point, but yet employed two hours more before we had fully attained it; and the heat having become by that time too great for us to commence our descent on the other side, we dismounted, and lay under some trees upon the flat table-land which forms the

summit, near some cool springs of water which are found there in abundance, and from whence we could see the Red Sea very plainly, which appeared, from this great elevation, as if close below, though in reality at the distance of three days' journey.

Not setting forward again till about sun-set, it was just dawn when we got the first view of Taif, which was delightful and refreshing to us all; for, though very small in itself, it is so surrounded with gardens, and with odoriferous plants, that the air is quite perfumed to a very considerable distance *.

* Tâyef (says Mengin in a note) est une assez belle ville située au pied de la montagne de Khâra; son territoire est fertile; c'est le jardin de la Mekke, dont elle n'est éloignée que de deux journées.—vol. ii., p. 11.

The sun had only risen about three hours, when we reached the village, and a closer inspection did not destroy the predilection which I felt for its situation. I soon found out an officer of my acquaintance who was in an inferior command there, who proposing to me that I should attach myself to his regiment, I willingly consented, and thus became actually enrolled among his men on the first day after my arrival.

Two months, however, passed away here quite without incident, till at the end of that time, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, the remains of the routed army of Confûta and Lid were sent to join us, and it was a great joy to me to meet again with my old companions.

My former commandant*, who had supposed me dead, was very much rejoiced to find himself mistaken, and ordered my pay to be allowed to me for all the time that I had been absent, and insisted upon my returning under his command; so that for a time I was receiving double pay, one from the garrison of Taif, and the other as belonging to my old regiment.

Things, however, continued in this state only for a very short time, owing to fresh orders received from Mahomet Ali Pasha, that we should proceed to Ciulla†, which we did in less than a week afterwards.

* I do not know whether Zain Oglou is meant here or some inferior officer. Zain was, according to Mengin, after a time, in spite of his disgraceful discomfiture, reinstated in the government of Djidda.

† This is written Koulakh by Mengin, (vol. ii., p. 11,)

It is in itself a very small and poor village, consisting only of a few clay huts in the middle of the desert; but we found that Tossoon Pasha was encamped there, and had occupied that position for a considerable time: we became, therefore, incorporated in the large force under his command, and took our station in his camp.

He, as general-in-chief of this division of the army, had with him here about three thousand men, between infantry and cavalry, and had suffered considerably in

who says that Tossoon was directed to go thither from Tayef by his father, for the purpose of attacking the Wahabees at Taraba, and after remaining at Koulakh "pleusieurs jours" was obliged rather to precipitate his attempt, "voyant qu'il ne restait des vivres que pour dix jours."

various encounters which he had had with the enemy, who had found means at intervals to annoy him upon every side.

So far, however, were these reverses from damping the ardour of the young commander, that they only served to increase his eagerness for striking a decisive blow; and for this the moment seemed to be now arrived. For at this time the greater part of the force of the Wahabees was concentrated at Taraba, a village, with a castle, distant no more than two marches from Ciulla.

A woman, named Gallia, commanded there in chief, who had acquired a great name, and, like the heroines of old romances, always led her troops on in person; it was also under her active directions

that they were doing all that they could to fortify themselves in Taràba *. Upon hearing which Tossoon Pasha, who was bent on dislodging them, removed his quarters, and took up a nearer position, in the hope of disturbing them; but we found on arrival that their garrison had already thrown up a rampart, or wall, of earth and stones, pierced here and there with loops, through which they could fire on their assailants with great effect, and were exposed in return to very little hazard; so that, in all the attempts on our part to annoy or surprise the enemy, we made little or no progress, and yet suffered very serious loss; and, besides those killed

* Mengin calls 'Taraba,' "place très forte et par sa situation, et par les travaux qu'il avait ordonnés."—vol. ii., p. 11.

round the fortifications, numbers were also intercepted by skirmishing parties, as they went for provisions and necessaries.

But the difficulty of getting water was the most grievous misfortune of all, for there was none in all that district, excepting what was close under the very walls of Taraba *, and commanded by the musketry from the village; yet there being

* Mengin, vol. p. i. 405, speaking of Taraba, says, "Cette place étoit fortifiée; des champs de dattiers, environnés de fossés remplis d'eau, la couvraient de deux lieues de circonférence. Dès que les soldats virent paraître l'ennemi, ils sortirent pour le combattre: une héroïne les commandoit, c'étoit Ghâliah, femme du cheykh de la tribu de Solayh. Cette brave Amazone attaqua la division de Moustapha Bey, et la mit en fuite." This attempt by Moustapha Bey, who was sent back upon it to Egypt, for having been defeated by a woman, was prior to Tossoon's, and may therefore possibly have been about contemporary with other disasters at Confûta.—See the last note to Chapter iv., vol. i.

absolutely no alternative for us but to draw it there, we were daily buying it with our blood. It appeared, therefore, that we must either retreat again from our post, or do something decisive, and Tossoon's determination leaning, as usual, to the more daring side, after having in vain endeavoured to draw out the enemy, to try the chance of a battle, gave orders for a general assault*.

* "Les vivres ayant manqué, il ordonna de couper les dattiers pour en manger la moëlle, et de prendre la ville d'assaut."—*Mengin*, vol. p. ii. 13. But he says nothing of the actual attempt and failure of the assault, but represents the whole army retreating in the night, and then adds, "Lorsque les Wahabys, commandés par Fehêd Ebn-chakbân, furent instruits de cette retraite ils se mirent à la poursuite des Turcs. Le Pacha ordonna alors de brûler les tentes et les équipages. Vers le matin, ils revenoient hardiment et prirent deux pièces d'artillerie," and cut the army to pieces "jusqu'à son arrivée à Koulakh."

This was undertaken with infinite resolution on the part of his troops, but it was sustained with equal firmness on the part of the besieged, who, perceiving that they had the advantage over us in point of numbers, after repelling us from their ramparts, while the troops were yet in disorder, poured out in all their strength upon us, and put the whole expedition to the rout. The slaughter was dreadful; and Tossoon, seeing no hope of saving anything from the camp which we had lately occupied, burned all in his retreat, and fled to his old position, the enemy pursuing all the way, and hanging upon the rear with such effect, that, upon our return to Cuilla, of about three thousand men who had marched from thence on that expedi-

tion, not more than five or six hundred came back*.

Here we re-occupied a portion of our former ground, and, to prevent the hazard of our being driven out of it in our present reduced state, began immediately to throw up works about it, the enemy continuing very near us all the while, during which Tossoon Pasha had informed his father of his ill success and of his present condition, and, consequently, began very soon to receive reinforcements sent from head-quarters; who, dropping in day after day, the numbers at Cuilla became at last again

* " Après sa retraite de Tarabé, Toussoun Pacha vint à Koulakh, où il demeura quelques jours; de-là il se rendit à Tayef. Dans le rapport qu'il fit à son père il lui annonçait que la disette des vivres avait été la seule cause du mauvais succès de l'expédition," &c.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 16.

very considerable. Mahomet Ali had, however, determined that he would place himself at the head of the next expedition against Taraba, to take his revenge for the disgrace and losses which had been sustained there by his favourite son: but just at the time when the great Pasha was expected day after day, I was myself one of a body of a thousand men ordered to march with the utmost expedition for Barusce, a pretty strong fort, standing at the distance of a day and a half from our encampment, and commanded at that period by an Albanian officer, who was brother to Hassan Pasha.

This Bey had sent word to Cuilla, that he found himself in a most critical situation, being but ill provisioned for some time past, and surrounded by the enemy

upon almost all sides, and that he should be constrained, if reinforcements and supplies were not sent to him, to abandon the post, advantageous as it was, altogether. Upon which Tossoon Pasha sent off the detachment alluded to, consisting of five hundred cavalry, with an equal number of foot soldiers, of which last I was one, and we began our march in the evening of the very day on which the communication from Barusce was received.

The next night we reached the base of a mountain, which it was necessary to pass over in our way; and the men being much tired and exhausted from the toil of the march, owing to the very broken face of the country which we had traversed, were halted there, and messengers sent forward to the Bey, both to inform him that we

had got thus far, and to inquire in which direction we should make our way to him, to be of the most service, and clear away the Wahabees the most from about him, so that we were waiting in that spot till the morrow for his reply.

But about midnight the Bey's little garrison were pressed so hard by the enemy that they were driven out, and compelled to get by flight to Taifa as they could; and a division of the same force, which became master of Barusce, was directed against us also before day, our advance having been discovered, and our motions closely watched.

We were very ill situated for such an encounter, our position being both low with respect to the ground about it on every side, and very closely hemmed in,

so that there was not space for our cavalry even to form itself; nor could we retaliate with any effect upon those who were occupying the heights, and pouring down their shot upon us from all sides: and even to be killed or wounded in this manner was not all, nor even the worst that we were exposed to, for such amongst us as fell alive into the hands of these cruel fanatics, were wantonly mutilated by the cutting off of their arms and legs, and left to perish in that state; some of whom, in the course of our retreat, I myself actually saw, who had no greater favour to ask than that we would put them to death.

All night long these horrors continued, during which, however, we had contrived to retreat considerably, and were not even

wholly dispersed or in disorder; so that, at daybreak, finding ourselves upon opener and more favourable ground, where the mounted part of our force could act, we halted and formed ourselves, and there debated what would be the best course to follow.

But the consultation did not last long, for it was agreed between the two commanders of our horse and foot that they should separate, and take different courses.

The cavalry accordingly parted from us, and took the way towards Taifa, in the hope of being able to fall in with the Bey, who had been discomfited at Barusce, or at least to cover his retreat from the enemy, if possible; and we ourselves marched on to recover the encampment which we had quitted at Ciulla.

I have before said that this road was very mountainous; and as our assailants were in possession of the heights, they were continually annoying us with great effect.

However, it was in our favour that the passes which we had to traverse rather expanded as we advanced, so that we could observe some order in our retreat, and from time to time take up such positions as were favourable.

In this manner we kept up a sort of running fight with the enemy, so that their pursuit of us, while it cost us many lives, was also very harassing to themselves, and not without considerable loss.

On one occasion, at length, finding ourselves on remarkably advantageous ground, we resolved to turn suddenly upon them, and, by a brisk discharge of musketry, to

do what we could to revenge the blood of our comrades.

This united effort, being unexpected, took great effect, and did almost as much execution among our pursuers as they themselves had done upon our ranks from the very outset: yet they stood their ground very bravely; and such was the impetuosity of their commanders, that the two chief amongst them came so forward, in calling on their men, as to be quite surrounded, and we all rushing instantly upon them in a body, had the good fortune to make both prisoners.

So soon as they had lost their commanders, the spirit of the whole Arab force was broken; and we, on our part, delighted to have made such a prize, pressed forwards with redoubled speed for Cuilla.

Had our body been large enough, and any cavalry still with us, we might have turned round, and marched back upon Barusce, in order to retake it; for the loss of their two leaders could do no less than weaken and dispirit those who had just got possession, and we might very probably have succeeded; but the smallness of our numbers, and the fatigued state of the men, added to the difficulties to be surmounted by the way, and, above all other considerations, our extreme impatience to present our general-in-chief with so fine a capture as the two Arabian chieftains, made us very impatient to get back.

It had now been daylight for some time, and though the distance that still remained before us was considerable, it was determined that we should proceed through

all the heat, in order to arrive the sooner; and being from thenceforward unmolested, and nothing remarkable occurring to impede us, about noon, or soon after, we reached our destination.

All the camp was in a state of repose, but our approach excited a great sensation in it, and afterwards much disappointment, when it was first known how ill the enterprise had succeeded, so far as Barusce was concerned.

Our commander made his report to Tossoon Pasha, informing him, in the first place, how the fort had been lost before we could reach it, and how the cavalry had taken the direction of Taifa, in the hope of falling in with Hassan Pasha's brother in his flight, so as either to enable him, by such a reinforcement, to return

upon Barusce, or, at least, to cover his retreat. The officer finished his recital with an account of our own retreat, and presented to him, at the same time, the two distinguished captives.

At the first part of the intelligence Tossoon Pasha showed every sign of extreme vexation, but commended the course that had been taken by the cavalry, and expressed in the end a high degree of satisfaction at the sight of the prisoners, whose heads he ordered to be publicly struck off, in return for the outrageous cruelties practised upon our comrades.

The spectacle of their execution was immediate and impressive, for the whole of our force was drawn out under arms; and the two victims were led out through the midst of us, during a great silence, the

eyes of all being fixed on them, as they passed with the most eager curiosity; and we, who had been their captors and had personally suffered so much, seemed to see, as their heads rolled from their bodies, a sort of compensation for the disaster of Barusce, and the great losses of our detachment upon the road.

We remained stationary in this camp for a long space of time, without any other incident than continual annoyances from Wahabite parties, who suffered not a day to pass without some attempt or skirmish, and often came upon us several times even during the course of the same.

There was, therefore, an absolute necessity for some decisive blow, not only for our present protection, but as the means also of disconcerting some very dangerous

combinations which were forming round us; for undoubted intelligence was received that a project of strict alliance and co-operation was on foot between the Arabs of Barusce and those of Taraba, who had hitherto acted separately and quite without concert; the project being to collect together between them a force amounting to several thousands, and, thus united, to fall upon our camp.

Tossoon had lost no time in communicating this alarming fact to his father, and strongly urged upon him the expediency of giving early effect to his promise, in coming in person to take the command, to which a favourable answer was received; and so soon as it became generally known that Mahomet Ali might certainly and shortly be expected, it seemed to give new

spirits and new life to all the troops, for in active service he has always had the power, to a singular degree, both of commanding their confidence, and of engaging their affections towards him—results which are not less the effect of an open-handed generosity which he has always shown towards those in the army who deserve well of him (a quality that weighs the most, perhaps, of all others with the soldiery of the East) than of his career of uninterrupted success as a general.

I shall reserve the account of his arrival and operations for the succeeding chapter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed by W. Clowes, Stamford-street.

ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI,

NATIVE OF FERRARA;

WHO, UNDER THE ASSUMED NAME OF MAHOMET,
MADE THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE WAHABEES FOR THE RECOVERY OF MECCA AND MEDINA;

AND

SINCE ACTED AS INTERPRETER
TO EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN SOME OF THE PARTS
LEAST VISITED OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN, AS DICTATED BY HIMSELF,

AND EDITED BY

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

GIOVANNI FINATI.

CHAPTER I.

Mahomet Ali takes the command—the enemy at Basille—Gallia, her Letter—Battle of Basille—Victory—Spoil—Surrender of Taraba—Compact with the Natives—Bisce besieged, and burnt—Gallia retreats to Dareia—Confúta re-occupied—Passage to Djidda—Honours to the Soldiery—the Author at Taraba—Sickness from bad Provisions—the Plague in Djidda—the Author's Embarkation—Mortality on board—Landing near Sinai—and return to Egypt.

It has been seen with what eager expectation the army at Ciulla was waiting for the arrival of Mahomet Ali Pasha, that he might take the command, which was not long delayed.

We had notice of it, and orders as to the manner of receiving him, on the night before; and accordingly the very first peep of day was ushered in with continued firings, in token of rejoicing; and very soon afterwards we were almost all marched out of our entrenchments (leaving within them only just enough for their protection) to a distance of about two hours, in the direction of Mecca, that we might meet him on his way, Tossoon leading us in person, who, so soon as he came in sight, was the first to press forward and salute his father,* the troops afterwards welcoming

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 25, speaks of a public reception of Mahomet Ali by Tossoon at Tayef, corresponding with this in many circumstances, but it can hardly be the same, since he then returned immediately from Djidda, June 6, 1814, and had brought with him over the mountain only twenty men.

him in a body with the loudest acclamations, and, falling into his train, which was not very large till they joined him; for he brought with him no further escort than a body of about eight hundred horse, but these so well appointed, that, with the great augmentation now received, the entry into the camp made a noble show.

It took place early enough in the forenoon to admit of a cursory military inspection before the meal at mid-day, which is a proof of the great Pasha's activity: he then retired to the quarters hitherto occupied by his son, which he took as his own from this time; and it is almost incredible what a new spirit was infused into the soldiery by his becoming thus fixed among them.

Their pay had been much in arrear for

some time past, upon representation of which a large part of it was paid up immediately, and even some gratuities given, where instances of distinguished merit were pointed out; and though complaints and applications from individuals were not encouraged, they were always listened to, and the party dismissed with condescension and fair words: since no general ever knew better the effect of that sort of affability, when it is desirable to keep men united and in good humour, upon hard service*.

* Mengin says, speaking of Mahomet Ali's conduct to the troops after their disasters, "Ce prince, connaissant le caractère de sa nation, redoutait les suites d'une révolte, et sut la prévenir par ses ménagemens. Dans cette circonstance, comme dans toute autre, Mohammed Aly se conduisit avec beaucoup de politique et d'adresse. L'estime qu'il inspirait aux troupes lui donnait de l'ascendant sur leur esprit, et lui permettait de les gouverner à son gré."—Tom. ii., p. 17.

Great attention also was paid to keeping all the regiments in practice, and exercising them daily in horsemanship, and firing at the mark, and the use of the sabre.

Meantime, no pains were spared to ascertain exactly the situation and designs of the enemy, which were become, as it appeared, sufficiently formidable; for many of the natives, not committed to the Wahabees in religious opinions, yet dreading the dominion of a stranger, had made common cause with them against the Egyptian army; and since it was well known to them all that they would now have to cope with Mahomet Ali in person, whose very name seemed to carry success with it, they were straining every nerve to make their resistance effectual; those particularly, as has been already hinted, in

the occupation of Taraba and Barusce, as well as places near and dependent on them, had laid aside their petty jealousies entirely, and were combined to swell a total which amounted to no less than about twenty-four thousand men in arms, all now drawn together to one point, and posted at a place called Basille*.

This is a level spot of ground, encircled by a natural rampart of hills, which, however, forming rather a chain than one continued ridge round it, leave narrow gaps betwixt, here and there, like so many entrances, but not one that is not well com-

* " Les Wahabys se rassemblèrent au nombre de vingt mille, sous la conduite de Fayçal, fils de Souhoud, entre Bessel et Tarabé. Outre cette armée, ils gardaien en réserve un corps de dix mille combattants."—Tom. ii. p. 29. Bessel (Basille) is said to be (tom. ii., p. 12), 'deux journées au-delà de Koulakh," and represented (tom. ii., p. 399) as less tenable than Tayef.

manded, so that if the heights be properly defended, the area within is quite secure.

Upon this accordingly were assembled their stores, and provisions, and ammunition for prosecuting the war, and a great deal also of private property, whilst by far the greater part of their infantry force was stationed upon the eminences all round, deeming themselves quite secure in their position, so long as a good look-out should be kept; at the same time, the base of this mountain-rampart on the outside was assigned to their cavalry, which, though amounting to no very large numbers, were yet amply sufficient for the purposes assigned them, and very constantly upon the alert.

When these dispositions had been completed, and their whole combined strength

concentrated at that post, so overweening a confidence became the result, that an attack from our Pasha seemed to be what was most earnestly desired. But the heroine Gallia, however much she might share this wish, was too prudent to provoke the experiment by any aggression which should draw her from her vantage-ground; and therefore thought that words would be the safest mode of defiance, for which purpose she framed a most insulting letter, and addressed and sent it to Mahomet Ali, in his camp at Ciulla.

Both in the style and the matter, it is said to have savoured very much of barbarism, for all that was not insolence or reproach was menace and arrogance, daring the Egyptian army to do its worst, and threatening that, if it did not quietly

evacuate the country, she would herself come and drive out every man from the entrenchments.

To this the Pasha* sent an immediate and suitable reply, intimating that such language could have no effect upon him, and that, so far from waiting to be invaded in his trenches, he would come in person to Basille, and soon shew his enemies an end of their boastings.

This was precisely what Gallia wished; and some may therefore be disposed to arraign the prudence of our commander-in-chief, for being induced to attack so very strong a position, and above all for thus declaring his intention beforehand.

* Mengin differs materially in the circumstance of representing Mahomet Ali as arriving with his force only the day before this battle, which he dates, perhaps correctly, Jan. 10, 1815.

But when it is taken into account, on the one hand, that this purpose was not consequent upon the letter, but had been long formed, and even prepared for; and on the other, that, from the very nature of the ground, it was quite impossible to do any thing by surprise, a prompt and decisive tone of this sort may appear to have been the more politic, as well as the more chivalrous course, since it tended to check the enemy's bold self-reliance and to damp their spirits, while it met the feelings of all his own troops, who were burning with resentment at the affront put upon them.

Accordingly, within two days afterwards, he called upon his whole force to come with him, and make themselves masters of Basille; in such confident terms did he venture to speak of victory beforehand.

With the Pasha of Egypt at our head, we set forward in high spirits, leaving our camp, our baggage, and provisions, all within the works which we had thrown up at Ciulla, and in the charge of a considerable detachment stationed there to protect them.

The march, which had been computed at six hours, we performed in five; so that, after having quitted Ciulla at midnight, we found ourselves near Basille at dawn.

The sun was no sooner risen, than we could plainly see the enemy whom we were come to engage with, their infantry covering the heights, and their cavalry below, skirting the foot of their position. Our approach seemed to put the whole force into motion and activity; while on our side also the troops were not behindhand in

demonstrations of eagerness and impatience for coming to action, and were little in need of being exhorted or encouraged, yet Mahomet Ali passed through all the ranks, reminding them that on the event of the day hung the destinies of Egypt, and their own honour and safety.

Then, after having sufficiently observed the ground, and made his plan of attack, he picked out a body of Algerine troops, to whom he assigned the perilous charge of the first onset, as an advanced guard, for the purpose of drawing down the enemy; and in their hearing, having called about him all the commanding officers of the different regiments, spoke at some length, setting before them in strong colours all that the Wahabees had done to provoke and insult them, and that here, at Basille,

an opportunity seemed to be offered for crushing them at once by a single effort; that the success of the campaign and the security of Mecca depended on the issue; that the eyes of the whole Mahometan world were fixed upon his army, and that, for his own part, he should not survive a reverse, after such a course of successes; but, as he was the first to shew the way to the battle, so would he be the first to welcome a grave upon the spot, should defeat and disgrace attend them.

His words had a great effect in animating both officers and soldiers, and he ordered on the Algerine detachment, with instructions so to manage their attack, as, if possible, to decoy their adversaries into the plain.

In the meantime, it became evident that there was a general movement amongst

them, and that they were drawn up into line to receive us.

The advanced guard accordingly moved on, as a sort of forlorn hope; and the whole army followed them at no great interval, presenting a front of about equal extent with that of the enemy; but the orders given were, that in going forward, the whole should bear gradually to the right, so as to bring our centre opposed to their left wing, and out-flank them upon that side, while the cavalry, till such time as it should be necessary to bring them into action, were placed in the rear, with orders to observe the same movement.

When we had reached a certain point, Mahomet Ali halted the whole line, and choosing out a little level spot, commanded his carpet to be spread there, and calling

for his pipe, and seating himself, said that from that ground he should not move, but would there await victory or death as the result of the action, and that every soldier should there find his recompense, upon presenting him with the head of an enemy*.

The pause was a short one, and the troops again advanced, but had orders that if those on the heights should shew signs of coming forward, they should instantly retrograde a little, which took place almost immediately, just as had been foreseen, and provided for.

* 10th of January 1815, "sans perdre de tems, il (Mahomet Ali) attaqua l'armée de Fayçal, où l'ordre et l'ensemble si nécessaires dans les batailles ne secondaient point la valeur du soldat. Il battit cette multitude, qu'il força, en se retirant, d'abandonner ses équipages. Au fort de la mêlée, Mahomet Ali tua un ennemi de sa propre main (this, as it seems, could hardly be); chaque tête qu'on lui apportait était payée six taleris."—*Mengin*, tom. ii., p. 30.

The Wahabees, who must have seen, and probably misconstrued, the first halt into something like a hesitation upon our part, no sooner perceived the whole line shew a disposition to fall back, than they felt no longer any doubt that we were panic-struck, and that the day was their own; and, in fact, our Algerine advanced guard, having just then fallen in with their cavalry, were really losing ground, and their opponents getting the advantage, which aided the effect of the feint, and tended to confirm them in their error. They might also probably feel some fears for their cavalry, who were now actively engaged, and, unless supported, might be shut up between our front and the mountain, in a part which they could not ascend.

Under these impressions they had the imprudence to come down, which they did in as good order as the steep ground would admit of, and formed themselves on the plain, which is just what our Pasha had been desirous of bringing them to from the beginning.

We stood fixed where we were; our relative posture, with respect to the enemy's line, being exactly such as was designed, and waited for their attack, which began almost as soon as they had descended.

Our advanced guard had gone forward from the centre of our line, but, owing to our subsequent movements, was now partly in front of the left wing, and partly extending beyond it, and opposed to the right of the enemy, to which it was able to make but a feeble resistance.

Meantime the centre of each army was opposed to the right wing of the other, our left extending beyond their line, and being, for the present, quite out of the action.

The enemy, not at all aware of the object and effect of these dispositions, finding so little obstruction upon their left from the advanced guard, whom they outnumbered, and drove back, pressed rapidly forward in that quarter; but as this was not at all the case with the remainder of their line, which could make little or no impression upon ours, that flank became detached from the rest, and, following in pursuit of the Algerines, was soon engaged with our cavalry from behind—our infantry continuing in perfect order all the while, though in hot and close conflict.

The heat of the battle lasted no less than

five hours; and the Arabian army was losing the day without being at all aware of it; for, so soon as the Pasha saw that the enemy's wing, which had gone forward, was sufficiently separated, and run into disorder, he directed that our right, which outflanked their line, and was still fresh, should close round upon it, so as to cut them off from their mountain-post; and all that was disposable of our cavalry was employed to shut up every other way from them, and especially any that might have led to our camp at Ciulla.

Mere courage could do little against an equal degree of courage now directed by military skill and experience—and courage was all that the Wahabees had to oppose to us; but this did not forsake them to the last, the fight being protracted, even in

that desperate condition, during several hours. But at length victory declared decisively for us, and so ended the glorious day of Basille.

The slaughter made of the enemy was prodigious, the whole field remaining strewed over with their headless bodies, for there were few of our soldiers who did not claim and receive their reward from the Pasha.

Even of those Arabs and Wahabees who had the good fortune to escape, not one could regain the camp that he set out from, or save anything in his flight; whilst with us it became our object of first concern to secure the spoil, which was not done without loss; for those who had been left upon the heights for the purpose of guarding it, though they had witnessed from thence the

defeat of their comrades, yet stood their ground, and continued to do so even when charged by a large body of our infantry, upon whom they kept firing down with great effect: but that body having been reinforced by a more general and combined effort, the position was carried, and not a man in it was left alive.

If the escape of Gallia herself be excepted, there was no drawback upon the success of that day; and our commander-in-chief, as he sat surrounded with the heads of his enemies, shewed, both by his words and his countenance, that he was fully impressed with its importance.

The tents, the provisions, the ammunition, the women, all that had belonged to the defeated, fell into our hands, and was sent off at once for our camp at Ciulla,

with a large detachment, appointed not only for an escort upon the road, but also to secure, by an additional force, the possession of that post during our ulterior operations, which were very immediate, Mahomet Ali not suffering our spirits, and the confidence arising from recent successes, to cool.

We were directed first upon Taraba*, and saw everything as we advanced fly before us, so great a panic had seized the whole country after the affair of Basille; and upon our arrival, in the course of the second day's march, we found that those outworks which had defied us before, and had been considered so formidable, were

* "L'armée Turque alla coucher à Koulakh, et se porta ensuite sur *Tarabé*, *Bycheh* et Rhanyeh, sans tirer un coup de fusil."—*Mengin*, tom. ii., p. 30.

now all abandoned, and not the slightest opposition made to our taking possession both of the village and the castle.

It appeared that, upon the great muster being made at Basille, a very slender garrison had been left here, which instantly withdrew upon the news of the defeat, so that not a single man, bearing arms, remained, but, for the most part, only women and children, or very old persons, and a few peaceable owners of the soil, anxious to continue in the quiet occupation of their properties and dwellings.

All these poor people protested their helplessness, and begged for protection; and, with whatever degree of sincerity, assumed an air of satisfaction at being now subject to a power that was capable of securing them; proffering, at the same time,

their services, and the utmost protestation of fidelity. Strict orders were therefore given, that all private property should be respected, and no violence done to the inhabitants; and it is to the credit of the discipline in the Egyptian army, that in no single instance were they disobeyed on this occasion.

All that was taken was what fell to the conqueror by the right of war,—the castle, and the public stores contained in it, some of which were remarkable, for it had been made one of the principal magazines and arsenals of the Wahabees.

The powder was all of their own manufacture; and since they had no great skill, and knew perhaps little of the just relative proportions of the ingredients, it was very gross, and contained an unusual quantity

of saltpetre, which is a substance that abounds in all their territory; it was not, however, the worse for their warfare on this account, for not carrying regular muskets, but only coarse matchlocks, the predominance of the salt-petre enabled them to fire somewhat the quicker, as it seemed to make the powder take more readily than it otherwise would. They had a contrivance, also, for sparing lead in their bullets, which is a very rare commodity amongst them, by coating over small pebbles with it, and so fitting them to their purpose.

Very shortly the commander-in-chief, having called together all the proprietors and residents, announced to them that it was his intention to go forward in pursuit of the enemy, and that he should have posted at Taraba a sufficiently strong gar-

rison to have coerced them, and maintained it by force; but, wishing to give them proof of his confidence, and desirous always of going hand-in-hand with the natives that submitted, he should select one from among them who might be associated in the government with the military commandant whom he should leave.

He nominated, accordingly, one of their principal land-owners, and after investing him with a pelisse of honour*, recommended him to be true and faithful to his

* Mengin, speaking of a somewhat earlier period, says of Tossoon's conduct towards the inhabitants, "Ceux qui venaient se présenter à lui recevaient des pelisses, de l'argent et des habillements. Généreux envers tous, il accueillait avec les mêmes égards les grands et les petits. Sa courtoisie fut portée si loin, que les uns et les autres, pleins de reconnoissance, lui jurèrent qu'ils seraient toujours les ennemis de ses ennemis."—Tom. i., p. 389.

trust, and warned him that he became responsible not for his own conduct only, but for that also of those who were thus put under his charge and superintendence; and that any disposition to revolt, or treason undivulged on the part of his townsmen, would cost him his head.

It had been ascertained, in the mean time, that the fugitives from the field at Basille had got together, and were posted and encamped at Bisce *: we all, therefore, received marching orders for that place, with the exception of about five hundred men left in garrison, and got ready, and proceeded on this expedition with as little delay as possible, for we heard

* Mengin writes it Bycheh, and mentions it with other places of strength, as Biselle and Taraba.—vol. i., p. 405; vol. ii., p. 11.

wonders related of the exertions and activity of those whom it was our object to dislodge, and of the fortifications already thrown up by them during the short period of our march, and of our halt in Taraba.

From whence, previous to our setting out, directions were sent down to the naval force for removing to the neighbourhood of Confûta, there to remain stationed until they should hear further.

Two moderate marches brought us within sight of Bisce in the middle of the second day, where our first business was to encamp, all operations being deferred to the morrow, and means taken in the interim for examining the position, and ascertaining the resources of those whose works appeared close in front of us.

We found that across the gorge of a

valley a long range of mud wall had been constructed as a redoubt to protect the village, and was flanked by two little forts, which, though of no better material, and built after the rude manner of the country, were pierced everywhere with loops for the discharge of fire-arms, and even small field-pieces, and threatened a very obstinate resistance.

It indeed appeared wonderful that, after so signal a defeat, our adversaries should have been able to collect again so soon in such large numbers, and so well provided as they seemed to be; but it should be borne in mind, that they were fighting in their own country, and where a great proportion of the population was strongly in their favour, and identified with them in interests or opinions; and it is probable,

therefore, that many were now at Bisce who had never fought at Basille; but, be this how it may, the force there was unquestionably very considerable, and seemed to shew great signs of confidence in the means which they had taken of securing themselves.

In truth, this reliance upon their outworks, as opposed to our common artillery, was not quite without reason, for, after a very heavy cannonade, we perceived that the balls only sunk into them without any further effect, and the besieged were so well protected in their discharge of small shot, as to make any nearer approach extremely difficult and hazardous, as we soon found to our cost.

The engineers, therefore, were directed to try the effect of throwing a few shells;

and the principal fort was fixed upon as a proper point for their aim, since in all probability the head-quarters, or principal stores, might be there.

The result was more immediate and decisive than had been anticipated; for a shell, the third only that was thrown, falling very true to its mark, not only killed several principal persons assembled there, in its immediate explosion, but did yet greater mischief by setting fire to some combustibles, which communicating to all the dry wood-work and thatching of reed and dead palm-branches with which the interior space was subdivided and covered for their troops, had the effect of spreading almost immediately into one immense and general blaze, the heat and smoke of which became intolerable even to the assailants,

and soon drove out the besieged to a precipitate flight, by the rear of their position, after a resolute defence, which might otherwise probably have continued much longer; but which had lasted, under these circumstances, only two days, during the first part of which (before experience had taught us to be cautious in our advances) we had lost a great many men.

The heroine, Gallia, having no longer any post left within distance, to retire to, led her followers at once into the neighbouring desert, and ultimately across it to Dareia*.

Our cavalry pursued and did execution upon some of them before they had advanced far in their retreat; but it seemed

* Written Derayah, by Mengin, which held out till 1818.

by no means advisable to follow them longer, since the whole distance across is no less than a journey of fifteen days, and no water at all to be found in the first half of the way, so that a tract more strictly deserving the name of a desert is no where to be seen.

Upon this account Mahomet Ali discountenanced all further efforts in that direction; and indeed saw that, even if any advantage under such circumstances could have been hoped for, it must draw him away too much from the central point of his operations; he resolved therefore to make Bisce the limit of his successes in that direction for the present, and to turn at once towards the coast, upon Confûta, which was now at a great distance from us.

Accordingly, upon quitting Bisce, a

small garrison was left there, and one of the chief native residents associated with the commandant, upon the same terms as in Taraba; a policy pursued thenceforth in all instances, for the sake of giving the proprietors and inhabitants a common interest with that of the government *.

Still however, notwithstanding our successes, and these conciliatory precautions, we had uncomfortable proofs of being in an enemy's country; for during a march protracted to five and twenty days, we had to dispute our way almost continually, and scarcely one passed without interruptions and encounters from roving parties of

* Mengin mentions that, "pendant cette marche, Ali Madaïsy abandonna avec sa troupe les drapeaux des Wahabys, et vint se rendre au viceroi, qui le reçut d'une manière distinguée; il lui donna à titre d'apanage le village de l'Obeylah à cinq lieues de Tâyef." vol. ii., p. 31.

Wahabees, or hostile Arabs, who were bent on turning us, or arresting our progress. Sometimes we found villages that still held for them, and which it was necessary to reduce, in every one of which the system of which the first examples had been given in Taraba and Bisce was followed, and our numbers were much diminished by detaching so many little garrisons from our body.

It was after this series of petty sieges and skirmishes, that we at last reached Confûta*, a place known to me before as a scene of disaster and distress; but we approached it now under the better auspices

* L'armée se porta sur Konfodah, dont elle s'empara sans coup férir, après quatorze jours de marche. De Konfodah le viceroi revint à Geddah par mer, puis il se rendit à la Mekkê, annonçant partout les avantages qu'il avait remporté.—Tom. ii., p. 32.

of our commander-in-chief, whose presence seemed to be an earnest of good fortune, and confidently anticipated that this would fall into our hands, as so many other strong places had done before it.

In effect, such was the power of his name, and the impression made by so promptly following up the full tide of victory, that no sooner were those in possession certified of his near approach, than dispersing themselves in various directions, they abandoned the place, and seemed almost to have disappeared before us, so that at this important station we met with not the smallest trouble or resistance; yet a larger armed force than ordinary was permanently placed there, and some very few natives, who made a merit of having remained or of returning, had the honours

of a whole population conferred upon them, in the joint authority with which their Sheik was invested.

As soon as this had been done, the fleet, which had been lying in the neighbourhood for some time past, was brought into the port, for the purpose of conveying all the rest of the army to Djidda; I speak only of the infantry, of which I was one, for the cavalry had been sent off already to make its way thither by land.

It is a passage usually computed at only five or six days, but bad weather and contrary winds impeding us, our small stock of water and provisions failed, and it being difficult to replace them on that coast, a greater delay was occasioned, than the mere touching at several points by the way, so that no less than fifteen days were con-

sumed; and owing to this, when we reached Djidda, instead of finding Mahomet Ali there, as we expected, his patience had been exhausted, and he was gone on with the cavalry to Mecca, but had left orders that we should follow him thither without delay; and since no hint was given us of any ulterior destination, every one was listening to the dictates of his own wishes, and forming in imagination his own schemes by the way, so that the journey was accomplished cheerfully, and without either adventure or impediment, being through a country entirely in our occupation.

Upon our arrival in the holy city, we were much gratified at a badge of distinction which had been prepared for us; for every soldier, of whatsoever degree who had borne part in the army, either at

Ciulla, or Basille, or at Taraba, was presented with a small aigrette of metal silvered over, with several points or sprigs issuing from it, which he was henceforth entitled to wear in his turban*; and, though the intrinsic value was trifling, the novelty, and the circumstances under which these decorations were conferred, made us prize them highly, and I have carefully preserved mine to this day.

The Pasha of Egypt's next act, however, was far less popular with his soldiery, for it was to order them off upon service to different parts of the country; and amongst others that Albanian regiment to which I

* Mengin says, in the note, vol. i., p. 304, "lorsque les soldats turcs ont eu des succès à la guerre, on donne à ceux qui ont fait preuve de valeur des aigrettes en argent qu'ils portent à leurs turbans."

belonged was destined to Taraba. But, no matter to what place, there hardly could be a greater disappointment to us all, for we began to think that we had been absent from Cairo and our homes quite long enough; and since we saw the main objects of the campaign accomplished *, had supposed that we must be called to head-quarters, only for the purpose of dismissing us, and making arrangements for our return.

Murmurs, therefore, and discontent broke out so generally and so loud, that they reached the Pasha's ear †, who, far

* That is to say, the whole Beled el Haram (holy land) had been delivered, and many places also lying beyond its limits, but the Wahabees still possessed Yemen, with its capital Darayeh.

† Mengin, vol. ii., p. 48, ascribes Mahomet Ali's return to Egypt to the news of Buonaparte's escape

from treating them with indifference or contempt, did not even make the show of being displeased, but sent us word through an officer that our stay would not be long, for that he himself was on the eve of his departure for Egypt, leaving the Albanian Hassan Pasha (a very popular character with us) in command of Mecca, and all the country which had been reduced; and that so soon as he himself should reach Cairo, he would immediately send off his newly levied troops to take our places, and

from Elba, and dates his arrival on the 18th June, 1815, which I suspect to be later by some weeks than was really the fact; for, if it be correct, he must either have been detained at Mecca long after our author's regiment was at Taraba, or on his road and passage, since we cannot allow less than four months between the going there into quarters, and the insurrection of the soldiery in Cairo.

we should then be welcome to follow our inclinations.

Tranquillized by this solemn assurance, the large body in which I served, after a stay of no more than four days, was marched off for Taraba, where we relieved the garrison, and took possession both of the village and the castle; but during a residence of only three months in our new quarters we lost no less than ninety of our men *, owing entirely to the careless manner in which our eatables were provided for us; for in all that country there is an immense quantity of native sal ammoniac, which was most indiscreetly made use of in

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 21, speaks of great sickness and mortality among the troops, by intermittent fevers, dysentery, and dropsy, and ascribes i altogether to the bad quality of the water.

salting and preparing our provisions, those persons who had the charge of them being either ignorant or indifferent as to the effects that it would produce.

The consequence was a very general state of sickness among the troops, very few remaining quite exempt; but the strongest recovered the attack, whilst those whose constitutions were less vigorous sunk under it. Afterwards more precaution was taken, by diluting and steeping this salt in water during several days, previous to applying it to the purposes of curing or of cooking, which greatly neutralized, if it did not entirely do away with its noxious qualities.

The three months, the period originally fixed for our garrison duty, having expired, the Pasha of Egypt kept his word with

us, and we were relieved by a regiment sent expressly to Taraba for that purpose; but from the turn of events, instead of feeling glad to quit a place to which we had gone so unwillingly, the removal was a matter of regret and apprehension to us all: for, however careless and indifferent the Turks may appear to the risk of plague when it breaks out at their very doors, they are too much like the rest of mankind, to go cheerfully and willingly from a distance to places where they know it to be raging, neither do they consider that their religion at all obliges them to do so. Now, we had all heard for some time past frightful accounts of its ravages about head-quarters, and being ourselves quite out of reach of all infection where we now were, felt very great reluctance to march

into the midst of it; but our orders were positive: those who were to replace us arrived, and we proceeded by slow journies to Mecca, from whence Hassan Pasha, who stood now in the place of commander-in-chief, ordered us off for Djidda, the point fixed on for our embarkation for Egypt.

Although we had found less mortality in Mecca itself than we expected, our hearts sunk within us when this port was named, for nothing could exceed the accounts of desolation and horror received from all that neighbourhood; and however strongly the belief in predestination may harden Mahometans, our regiment could not forbear murmuring at being sent into peril so open and gratuitous; but we were answered, that it was at our own desire, that supplies would fail if we delayed,

and that transports were waiting for us there.

We set out, therefore, with very bitter forebodings, and I never shall forget the exclamation of our officer who led us—"How much better would it have been to have died in the field, than to go thus to perish like rotten cattle at Djidda!"

But no description can convey a just image of the desperate and deplorable state in which we found that town when we entered it. The streets were all empty, and the shops shut; corpses were seen lying and putrefying upon every side, all compassion and decency were at an end, there was no care to bury the dead, nor even so much as to remove them, so greatly had the mortality and the terror of the conta-

gion spread: no house where there were any living persons would admit us, and we took up our quarters in those where every inhabitant had been swept away, for the vessels were either not yet ready, or afraid of taking us on board.

Under such circumstances it was not to be expected that we should escape infection; our officers were amongst the first who sickened, and it spread so generally among the men also, that in my own company, which consisted of twenty-eight, eight only recovered and survived.

I was not myself quite so soon attacked as many others, and thus was able to nurse and attend upon my comrades and superiors during several days: my own turn, however, came before long, and I fell into as bad a condition as any of them; under which, perhaps, my spirits, naturally

cheerful and sanguine, did more than any thing to support me, and to carry me through it, for it was not long before the disorder seemed to take a favourable turn, and the tumours, which had risen on various parts of my body, gradually subsided.

It was not till after a delay, however, of five and twenty days, passed in these dismal extremities, that we embarked, greatly reduced in numbers, and with few amongst us who were not either actually sick, or still suffering under the effects of this desolating plague: hence the scene on board became dreadful; the want of space, the stench of disease, the restlessness, the complaints, the groans were quite intolerable: many sunk under their sufferings out of pure weakness; many, who had thought themselves cured, relapsed, or were a se-

cond time infected, so that nothing was to be seen but agony and death upon the deck and below, and corpses thrown into the sea.

Disgust and desperation got to such a height, that all joined in intreating the captain of the vessel to set us any where on shore, rather than let us perish in this miserable manner before we could reach the port of Suez. But his instructions not permitting this, we ourselves seized the opportunity when we touched at Ras Mahomet, the very first foreland of the region of Mount Sinai, where we all set up a shout of gladness as soon as we had crept out of that dismal ship, and it was in vain that we were invited to return to it.

The eagerness and joy of the moment had made us overlook every sort of pre-

caution or preparation for the journey: we had left, therefore, our tents, our provisions, and even our arms on board, with every thing, without exception, that belonged to us; and in this destitute condition, weak and reduced as we were, we set forward to make way across the desert: and even the fatigues and privations of three days could not induce us to repent of the steps that we had taken: it may, indeed, be doubted, whether the want of covering, and of food, as well as the state of exertion forced upon us, had not, on the whole, a beneficial effect, for though we suffered much by the way, few of us were the worse for it, and not one died.

The first district of cultivation which we reached was the Vale of Tor, where we provided ourselves with what we wanted;

and hiring camels, on which some rode double, and some by turns, made our way round to Suez, where we found that the vessel had arrived before us.

There, when an account was taken of our numbers, it appeared that we could muster no more than one hundred and nine; and the reader will have an estimate of our losses, when informed that the complement had amounted to five hundred and fifty soldiers, besides their officers.

During my short stay in Suez, I met with a French traveller, who had seen all the continent of Europe, and some portions also both of Asia and Africa, and was now bent upon exploring Arabia, for which the opportunity certainly seemed a good one, so far as regarded personal security, since the Egyptian army had so

reduced and brought the wandering tribes into subjection, that those petty intestine wars no longer prevailed, which rendered it at other times so difficult and hazardous to traverse their country*. Any one, therefore, I make no doubt, might have penetrated very far at that period in many directions with safety, provided he had the sanction and protection of Mahomet Ali. How far the traveller in question had this advantage I do not know, but his ambition was to see all that he could, and, after exploring Arabia and Yemen, to embark for India.

He was extremely anxious to induce me to attend him in his journey, seeing that I

* It was the period selected by the excellent and lamented Burckhardt. I am unable to conjecture who this French traveller can have been.

was qualified to serve not only as a guide through a great part of the country, but that I was personally acquainted with many of the most influential among the natives, and conversant with their language and habits; my connexion also with the Egyptian army was no small point of recommendation. It was the first proposal that I had ever received of the sort, and I was almost on the point of acceding to it; however, when I came to reflect upon having returned so very near home in safety, and yet that, by this arrangement, I was not to visit it, nor to enjoy any of that rest and tranquillity which I began to require, but must, on the other hand, go back at once to scenes of painful and uncomfortable recollection,

and perhaps court a repetition of hardships and misfortunes, I thought I judged better when I ended by declining his offers.

After a very few days, therefore, of necessary repose, I took the road for Cairo with my companions, joining them heartily in the lively demonstrations of joy and mutual congratulation which they made, by continual discharges of fire-arms, and music, and singing*, as they marched along; for though not myself a native, as some few of them were, yet I felt as much as any of them that I was returning to my country, so much have I been accustomed to consider Egypt in that light.

The first sight of the citadel was hailed

* The Albanian soldiery may frequently be seen singing to their mandolins.

by us with redoubled shouts, and still more frequent firing; and it was not long before we found ourselves in the company of many of our friends within the walls.

CHAPTER II.

Insurrection of the Soldiery at Cairo, and perilous situation of Mahomet Ali—The Author accompanies Mr. Bankes in his voyage upon the Nile into Nubia—Visit to one of the princes of that country—Account of the antiquities and temples there—Also of those in Egypt—The Pyramids—Return to Cairo—Mosques there—Preparations for going into Syria with Mr. Bankes in quality of interpreter.

At Cairo I only continued to belong to the army till such time as the arrears of our pay for eighteen months were discharged, which took place within a few days after our arrival; when, finding myself with some money in hand, and in some need of relaxation and repose, I withdrew from the service, (for this is at every soldier's option, according to the system of

those countries, when he pleases, unless while actually engaged in a foreign campaign,) and betook myself for a while to a private life in that city. Just at this period, however, there broke out a sort of convulsion there *, which, as it was very serious and violent during the short time that it lasted, I must not omit to mention.

Our Pasha had determined upon drilling his troops after the European manner †, and having taken steps for carrying this plan into effect, officers were specially appointed for the superintendence of the new

* This tumult, or *revolution*, as Mr. Belzoni calls it, will be found mentioned (with some trifling variation in the circumstances) in his works, p. 9 to 12.

† "Depuis longtems Mohammed Aly avait eu le projet d'instruire et de vêtir ses troupes à l'Européenne, car il n'ignorait pas que la tactique supplée au nombre: il manifesta ses intentions à son retour d'Arabie."—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 49.

system. I myself might very well have aspired to one of these posts, since my original training in the French service had given me some knowledge in European tactics, and I might add, over and above, the claim of a great practical experience in oriental warfare.

But, nevertheless, I felt no inclination either to ask or accept of such a charge, perceiving what consequences it was likely to lead to; for this sort of military discipline was looked upon at that time by all the soldiery with the utmost jealousy and aversion as a direct invasion of the rights and liberties of their profession *.

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 49, says, that the Pasha inspected the troops at Boulak, in their new manœuvres, on the 2d of August. "Les troupes commencèrent alors à murmurer: des esprits séditieux soufflèrent le feu de la révolte, et plusieurs chefs, d'accord avec leurs soldats,

Notwithstanding this ill humour, however, in many parts of Egypt, and more especially about the capital, a course of regular drilling began to be carried on, and was enforced with a strictness and severity, that only tended still further to exasperate the feelings, and to ripen projects of resistance and revenge.

These were not long in finding a vent; the first and foremost victims were the drill-officers, of whom the most part were natives, but some were also Frenchmen *, who had remained in the country from the time of Buonaparte's expedition.

vinrent former le projet de renverser la puissance du viceroi." It has been since proved how obnoxious a similar experiment is to the soldiery of Constantinople.

* Mengin, vol. i., p. 11, computes the French who entered the Mameluke service, in preference to returning home, at three hundred; and says, that a smaller number enlisted in the party opposed to them.

Assassinations of these obnoxious persons by pistol-shot soon became frequent; but, far from deterring the government, or warning them to gentler measures, they led only to higher degrees of constraint and compulsion, till the odium no longer attached itself to the mere instruments of the experiment, but extended to the highest authorities, and to the Ruler himself.

"If we *must* have the French discipline," said the discontented, "let us carry the French system further, and have our revolution too." And accordingly, upon a day previously concerted *, all those quartered in the neighbourhood of Cairo broke out into open mutiny and revolt, with the professed purpose of plundering

* August 4, 1815.

the city, and putting Mahomet Ali to death.

After falling first upon such of the officers as had not yet been taken off singly by individual violence, they marched forward in a formidable body; and had not the pillage of some of the bazaars engrossed them in the first instance, the chiefs of the government, who were quite unprepared for the attack, could hardly have escaped.

Meanwhile, all the merchandise that was exposed was completely sacked, and terror and distress spread through all the capital; far the greater part of the troops quartered within the city (with the exception only of the garrison in the citadel) taking part with the revolted, and adding to the disorder and outrages.

Some made attempts to get possession of the citadel, for it was supposed that the Pasha was there; other large parties continued ransacking in all directions the different streets, and plundering all that they could lay hands on.

One company *, in particular, endeavoured to force its way into that quarter where most of the merchants from Morocco and the western parts of Africa have their warehouses of silk and woollen ma-

* "Ils se mirent à dépouiller les maisons et les bazars, et jetèrent partout la terreur. Les Moghrebins surent défendre leurs propriétés avec courage; par les fenêtres et du haut des terrasses, ils fusillèrent les spoliateurs. Le hamzaony (the silk and cloth bazaar) fut entièrement pillé; les quartiers des Francs, objet de la cupidité des révoltés, restèrent cependant intacts, car les Européens prirent les armes et l'on fit bonne contenance. Le viceroi y envoya, dans la journée du 4, des gardes préposées à la police, ainsi que des fusils et des munitions."—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 52.

nufacture, but were there met by an armed and obstinate resistance, and were repulsed altogether; the narrowness of the streets, and the wooden gates *, separating the several quarters throughout the city, rendering such a defence easier than it would otherwise have been.

The quarter also where the Europeans are established escaped entirely, but not without great energy and vigilance displayed on the part of the merchants and others residing there, who organized a sort of armed police among themselves, in which each took his turn of personal service, and so kept guard for many days and nights, so long as any danger or apprehension

* These wooden gates are usually closed about eight o'clock at night, after which hour the porter at each requires a small trifle for opening it.

continued; their safety, however, was owing, in a great measure, to the thought which the Pasha himself had for them, who, seeing the peculiar danger to which they would be exposed in this tumult, sent in five hundred muskets to them immediately, and other ammunition, sufficient to serve the purposes of their defence.

The Pasha was, in fact, at the first breaking out of the disturbance, at no great distance from their part of the town, having come down but a few days before to his palace called Sbecchia*, which stands pleasantly in a large open square, convertible into a lake in the time of inundation.

By the greatest good fortune, it had been so taken for granted that he was still

* Mengin writes, "L'Ezbekyeh." It had been the palace of Elfi Bey, and occupied also by Buonaparte.

in the citadel, that no search or inquiry was made for him elsewhere, yet he had many hours of a bitter suspense to endure, galled as he must have felt by the ingratitude of his army, and exposed every moment to be discovered, and dragged to destruction.

He was extricated from his perilous situation by the fidelity and courage of Abdim Bey, an Albanian, brother to Hassan Pasha*. This Bey had a particular

* Mengin also ascribes the safety of the Pasha to Abdym Bey, but says that it was by notice given of the plot to him *the night before*, which seems hardly credible, for, if so, why was no further precaution taken than the mere withdrawal of the Pasha to the citadel? Why was all the merchandise left exposed? and the arms only sent into the Franks after the pillage of other quarters had actually begun? I was upon the spot, but having been in a sort of state of blockade during the time, can give no testimony of value as to the particulars, further than that I know that no *previous* notice

attachment to his person, and having drawn together about three hundred of his own nation who had continued loyal, and in whom he could confide, went to the palace where Mahomet Ali was, and taking him suddenly from thence under his escort, forced a way for him up to the citadel, and there lodged him in safety.

This took place late in the evening of that day of confusion and terror; and when it was seen that the Pasha had really been so long within their reach, and at their mercy, disappointment exasperated the soldiery to fresh excesses and a renewal of the pillage. For my own part, I had been up to that time sitting peaceably in a coffee-house, but I saw so many of my

had been given to the inhabitants, nor *previous* precaution taken of any sort.

acquaintance with booty, and the appetite for it was become so universal among them, that I felt myself at last seized with something of the same spirit, and set out upon my adventures accordingly, to see what I could lay hands on.

Knowing a particular street in which several of the houses belonged to men of substance, I made for that, and, seeing the door of one of them standing open, I went in, but no sooner had I commenced my search than a thief, who was already there, just touched me in passing, and went off with both of the pistols out of my girdle, which he drew out so skilfully, that I did not perceive the loss at the moment, though I missed them immediately afterwards. I flatter myself that no better proof will be wanting, that I was no great adept in

the profession of plundering, yet I resolved to persist in my scrutiny of the contents of that house, if it were but to indemnify myself for the loss of my arms.

Little seemed to remain there, excepting a chest, which was large and heavy, and so well secured, that I could not force it open; it made a rattling sound when removed, that gave me a high idea of the value of its contents, but to carry it off alone I found would be impossible; I therefore fetched a comrade, and letting him into the secret, we together hired an Arab porter whom we met with, and putting the load upon his shoulders, promised him two or three piastres for his pains.

I borrowed one of my partner's pistols, and thus, weapon in hand, we both walked before our prize in triumph, to defend it

from the possibility of a rescue, till we got it into a safe place, and dismissed our porter. With what eagerness did we then unite our strength in forcing the lid, when, behold! instead of the plate or dollars which we had promised ourselves, we had carried off a case of the commonest crockery ware, not worth the piastres paid for its transport. My confederate fell to laughing with all his heart, but for my own part, independent of the vexation and disappointment of having plundered to so little account, I felt not a little regret at having lost my pistols, which were mounted in silver gilt, and had cost me a hundred scudi.

Before morning, the Pasha had proclaimed from the citadel a general amnesty, on condition that the troops would return

to their duty, pledging himself at the same time that the system objected to should be discontinued, and promising to the merchants* and inhabitants who had been pillaged, a full indemnity for their losses, a declaration that produced the desired effect, and Cairo returned to a state of tranquillity and peace.

The great number of those who had been all equally guilty †, made it prudent to adhere to the pardon which had been

* "Il (the Pasha, during the night) fit appeler auprès de lui Seyd Mohammed el Mahrouguy, et le prevint que son intention était de payer la valeur des effets et des marchandises perdues, puisque les bazars avaient été dépouillés à cause de sa personne."—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 52; and, in a note to the next page, he states the total of the sums paid for indemnification at 3,250 purses.

† "Il cherchait à se concilier l'attachement des troupes éloignées de lui. Abdyn-Bey reçut 1000 bourses en récompense du service éminent qu'il lui avait rendu."—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 53.

promised; but it seemed hardly to be doubted that, in a sudden burst of this nature, where there was so much concert, and had been so much secrecy, some prime mover and ringleader must exist, and no pains were spared on the part of the government in order to bring him to light. It is, however, very remarkable that no clue was ever obtained towards ascertaining this point *.

When, upon the pacification of the city, the gate of the Frank quarter was again thrown open, and free ingress and egress permitted, I resumed my habit of frequenting it, having several friends there among

* Belzoni says, vol. ii., "I have reason to think that the Bashaw knew who the chief instigators were; for we found that several persons shortly after died of sudden deaths, and, indeed, many of the chiefs and beys disappeared."

the Italians and others, but none in the number whom I esteemed more than François Barthow, who was, I believe, a French subject born in St. Domingo. Entering one day into conversation with me, and finding that I was not at this time under any engagement, he proposed to me that I should accompany him into Upper Egypt, adding that my passage and living would be free of all expense, and that I might expect some remuneration besides, for that he was to make the voyage upon the Nile with an English gentleman of fortune, in the capacity of his guide and interpreter. I made no difficulty in acceding to this proposal, feeling a very strong curiosity to visit Upper Egypt, which I had never yet seen, so that I got my little matters in order, and within three days was ready to set out.

A large vessel had been hired by the month, and furnished with what was necessary for the purpose, it being the English traveller's intention to continue always upon the river, stopping or diverging from it only at those points where objects of antiquity and interest present themselves. This traveller was Mr. Bankes, whom I saw for the first time upon my coming on board *. He had visited all the south of Europe, and speaking Italian as fluently as I did Arabic, he made as frequent use of me in his communications with the natives as of Barthow himself; besides whom there were now in his service Antonio D'Acosta, a Portuguese, who had followed him through most of his travels, and an Arab of Alexandria, named Haleel, who

* September 16, 1815.

had been engaged as interpreter upon his first landing, and had already made with him the fatiguing journey from Cairo to Mount Sinai and back again, in the interim required for the outfit of our boat: so that I was at this time the fourth in his suite.

In ascending, we stopped only at such objects as were considered of the most paramount interest, or when the wind failed us, which is, however, a circumstance of rare occurrence during the rising of the Nile, it usually blowing at that period strongly and steadily from the north both day and night; so that, since of necessity we must come back by the same course, it seemed advisable to profit by it, and to defer the more frequent delays for our return.

The twelfth day from our embarkation brought us to Thebes, where we anchored for ten days, the ophthalmia depriving Mr. Bankes totally of sight during that time. Afterwards, as we approached the Cataract, we sailed through the most remarkable cloud of locusts that I have ever seen. They were passing over from the westward, and seemed rather to fall through the air, like a driven snow-storm, than to fly with any guidance of their own, lighting indiscriminately upon land or water as it happened. Our vessels and clothes were covered with them; and the poor natives of Elephantina and Assouan* were standing in their fields and gardens, upon piles of earth and stones, endeavouring to keep them off with the same shrill cries, and

* Syene.

slinging of pebbles, which they usually employ against the birds in harvest time.

Since the large vessel could not pass the Cataract, and it was the intention to proceed much higher up, it was necessary to hire a smaller of the Nubians, for so are called all who live beyond Assouan.

We accordingly went from thence a few miles over-land, till we came opposite the Island of Philæ, where the new boat was got ready for us, which was as rude as it was diminutive, the planks being only pegged together without any nails; it had one ragged sail of blue cotton; and, as there was nothing answering to a cabin, a mat of palm leaves had been bent over it like a sort of arbour. The crew consisted of only two men, and one boy, who was entirely naked, with the exception of a little covering about his loins.

The space being so confined, none but Mr. Bankes slept on board. Both he and François Barthow had retained their European dress, and since that country is very thinly inhabited, the curiosity which their appearance excited among the natives occasioned no great inconvenience, and we even received some tokens of compliment and hospitality.

One of these was very singular: as we lay at anchor, an old man came forward of himself with a palm branch in his hand, of which he had frayed out all the leaves into slender filaments, and had attached to each of them a living locust. He ascertained who was the chief of our party, and presented to him this uncouth offering. We could not discover whether this was any usage of the country, or only a caprice of his own;

but upon our inquiring what was to be done with these insects, he replied that they were to be eaten, and, at our request, cooked them for us himself, first pulling off their wings, and then frying the remainder in butter, which we found crisp to the taste, and not wholly unlike a shrimp.

This dainty was never offered to us in any other instance; but in our walks along the river-side we found the wings scattered in a manner that gave proofs of its furnishing no very uncommon repast. Derr may be considered the capital of Nubia, and had reverted only the year before to the government of its native princes, by the retirement of the Mamlouks (who had usurped it for a time) further up the Nile to Dongola. These native princes* were three

* They are said to be descendants of Bosniac soldiers,

brothers, and bore the title of Cashief; one of them, a gross, corpulent man, but much less dark than the usual hue of his countrymen, received us at his palace, which was built of unbaked brick, and smeared here and there with red and white paint.

He spoke in terms of friendly recollection of Mr. Lee and Mr. Smelt, who had preceded Mr. Bankes thus far up the Nile, and had paid him a visit some months before; he sent a present on board of three sheep, and a sack of dates from Ibrim, that are highly esteemed for their quality and size, and in return received soap, gunpowder, and candles, at his own request, preferring them to articles of Euro-

sent up to reduce the country for Sultan Selim, but who contrived to establish there an hereditary power for themselves from that time.

pean manufacture which had been brought for him.

We went no higher in our boat than Wadi Halfa, where the second cataract begins; but a ride upon camels carried us about half a day's journey beyond it to Wadi Aumki, a spot of no particular interest, except that it was the farthest we attained to in that journey. We were now to trust altogether in our return to the current of the river, or to our oars occasionally; so the mast and sail were accordingly laid aside as useless, and we were landing almost continually, wherever there were tidings or expectation of any vestiges of antiquity, and I soon grew so accustomed to see Mr. Bankes drawing and noting from them, that I began to take some interest in the sight of them myself.

There are ruins near Wadi Halfa, but much buried in the sand *. At Addé, on the east bank, is a fine chamber in the rock with columns, and but a little lower down on the opposite side are the two wonderful excavations of Abousombul, of which the smaller † was very perfect and entire, and could be entered; but a drift of sand from the desert had covered so great a portion of the larger temple, that no vestige of a door was at that time to be seen, nor any thing of the four great colossal figures, beyond the bust of one of

* It will be seen in a following Chapter, that an excavation was afterwards made here that brought to light a large extent of building.

† In the sanctuary of this lesser temple is a representation that I have seen no where else. The Queen foundress (who is conspicuous in every part) is apparently making an offering to herself in her deified capacity, at least the same oval designation is represented over the goddess, as over the female votary standing before her.

them, of which the dimensions however were so vast, that when I stood upon a level with the necklace I could hardly reach the beard, and one of our sailors climbed and sat astride upon the ear; yet the countenance, seen at its proper distance, appeared very beautiful.

Mr. Bankes had a longing desire to have uncovered more of this monument at this time, and often spoke of it afterwards.

Ibrim * is very unlike most other situations upon the Nile, being perched upon a very bold rock, in the perpendicular face of which are some small painted chambers, so difficult of access, that our traveller was drawn up into them by a rope round his body.

* A temple (probably a small one) seems to have been perched nobly at Ibrim (Primmis) over the river; a part of a little double headed propyleum yet remains, which indicates the position.

There are antiquities at Derr and Amāda, and at Seboueh an avenue of sphinxes and upright colossal statues leads to a temple buried in sand almost to the roof.

Ruins and inscriptions are found also at Maharraka*, Gartaas, and Coshtonbé; and at Girshe is a suite of several large chambers in the mountain-side, the largest of which is divided by eight immense human figures into three aisles, and in the innermost are four smaller figures in a sitting posture, with an altar before them. This excavation, with the great platform and remains in front of it, seemed to me to be

* Sometimes called Oofedina. It is the ancient Hiera-sycaminon (holy sycamore-tree). The particular tree to which some legend was attached, is most probably represented on the wall there, where Isis and Horus are seen sitting under the shade of one, sculptured in a style that has very little resemblance to the Egyptian; but certainly of a late period.

what is best worth seeing in all Nubia, after Abousombul *.

The workmanship in the temples of Dâkké †, Dendoor, and Tayfa ‡, is very neat and minute; but the scale of them is inconsiderable; and they seem to have been left unfinished. That at Kalapshé is much

* Perhaps, in deference to its scale and extent, we must concur in this criticism; but, although not of an earlier period than Abousombul, the execution and proportions are infinitely more rude. It is a curious proof of the durability of wood-work in that climate, that from this temple, unquestionably a work of Sesostris, I took two dove-tails of that material out of the colossal figures that seemed coeval with the excavation; and, though as light as touchwood, had lost nothing of their form, nor crumbled at all upon the touch (as the timber fragments do at Abonsombal).

† Dekke is Pselcis. There is a curious rock, not far from it in the desert, covered with votives. The temple was dedicated (as appears by the inscription) to the Egyptian Mercury, and the germ of the Greek caduceus may be seen in his hand.

‡ Taphis.

larger, and has both sculpture and inscriptions, but is strangely beaten to pieces *: not far from it is a temple in the rock, where the natives have a tradition that there were formerly human sacrifices, and believe this to be the occasion of the remarkable redness of the soil about it.

The ruins at Debode † are still further down, and brought us within a few hours of Philæ.

That beautiful island being covered with ancient remains, Mr. Bankes, upon his return to it, established himself there for some days, in a very diminutive temple that is used as a dwelling-house, and by the light of his candles at night found an in-

* Talmis. This small excavated temple (of the age of Sesostris) may be considered one of the best specimens existing of the early (the best) Egyptian sculpture.

† Parembola.

scription in it that had never been observed up to that time*. It was also during this short stay that he first brought to light the granite pedestal of the obelisk †, which has more than twenty lines upon it in the Greek character; this was buried altogether below the surface; but the probable position of it was conjectured from the obelisk lying near the spot, and search was made there accordingly. Some steps were taken, even then, towards the removal of this monument; but, for want of proper tackle, it was abandoned for that time.

The only risk, or sign of ill-disposition,

* Interesting, as mentioning the two Cleopatras (successively wives of Ptolemy Lathurus), the same who are addressed on the pedestal of the obelisk.

† Belzoni notices this fact, page 201; but was mistaken if he meant to signify that no complete copy was made of this most interesting inscription at the time of discovery.

on the part of the inhabitants, that occurred above the cataract, was in this island, where, in Barthow's absence (who was gone to refit the boat for us below), I had remained alone with Mr. Bankes, but was not always at his side during his researches. One morning a small crowd had collected round him whilst he was drawing in the portico of the principal temple, and one of the number became very importunate and troublesome in demanding a present, and at last even thrust his hand across the paper, in token that the work should not proceed without it; this rudeness had produced some irritation; and when, upon hearing the stir, I came in, I found that the Nubian had drawn his little crooked knife, which is worn buckled upon the left

arm, and was holding it in the most menacing position.

I was putting my hand to my pistols (for Mr. Bankes himself went unarmed), and the natives were beginning to take part with their countryman, when, luckily, Barthow appeared in sight upon the shore opposite, accompanied by the Cashief of Assouan, who came thus far to do honour to the stranger, and to the recommendation with which he was furnished by the Pasha of Egypt.

The sight of such a person in authority, with soldiers about him, was sufficient not only to put an end to all disturbance, but to send off every inhabitant precipitately from the island,—all, with one accord, throwing themselves into the water; such

among them as had clothes, rolling them up upon their heads, some swimming, and others paddling along astride upon their logs of wood, till they reached the further bank, and got into hiding-places.

The cashief offered to take any vengeance on them that should be required; but, as the matter had not gone beyond a menace, there was no occasion to pursue it further: so we mounted the asses that had been brought for us, and rode under his escort to Assouan, where we resumed our larger vessel, which had been left in the charge of the faithful Antonio.

There was now an additional person in our company on board;—a Nubian, of the name of Husseyn, had made himself useful in the upper country, in our communications with the natives, and was upon his

way towards Cairo upon his own account; it being very usual, with that race of people, to go into service there, and, though they do not pass for having any quickness of parts, they are found so faithful and trusty as to be commonly selected for door-keepers throughout that great city; they often continue in this capacity only three or four years, and then will return, with their little earnings, to settle in their own poor and destitute country. Husseyn's object was to obtain a situation of this description; and glad, therefore, of his food and passage, he continued with us all the way, and was very active and obliging.

Sometimes, when our descent was obstructed by the strong north winds, our whole crew would form themselves into a

circle upon the bank, and perform a sort of religious mummery, shaking their heads and shoulders violently, and uttering a hoarse sobbing or barking noise, till some of them would drop, or fall into convulsions. Meantime, being myself very fond of sporting, I used, in those opportunities, to take my gun, in pursuit of wild geese upon the river, or partridges in the desert.

During our stay at Philæ, we had explored a larger island opposite to it, where there are ruins, and another on which we discovered the half of a very little temple cut out of a single block of granite; we also visited from thence the ancient quarries of that material, from whence it is thought that the obelisks were cut.

Elephantina is scarce a stone's throw from Assouan, a delightful cultivated island,

with two small temples upon it at that time, both since destroyed; but there is no place where the peasantry, by scratching among the ruins and sifting the dust, still find a greater number of little objects of antiquity. At Assouan, also, there were then remains, that have since disappeared; nothing remarkable is now left there but a very early Mahommedan burial-ground, that is held in veneration, in which the characters on the tombstones are not the same with those now in use *.

We visited Derawi, the village where reside the chief conductors of the slave-caravans, from Darfur, and there tasted booza, a fermented and intoxicating drink made from grain, of the nature of beer.

* The character is what is called the Kuphic.

At Comombo * are two temples, one very large, and with the painting upon it very perfect; at Silsily, immense ranges of antique quarries. Below these is Edfou †, with a temple that is visible across the flat to a great distance, and so vast and entire, that there are inhabited cottages standing upon the roof: another, on a much smaller scale, is near it. Two, also, are in and near the village of Esné ‡, and have the zodiac

* Ombos.

† Apollinopolis. No temple of the Ptolemaic dynasty is more beautiful or more entire than this. It is always matter of astonishment to me, that, vast as the buildings of that flourishing period were, there is not, to my knowledge, a single historical sculpture to be seen on any one of them, but all purely mythological and dedicatory. Whereas, in the earlier edifices, very few exist that do not present some representation of real life, and feats of war.

‡ I never could imagine what Denon saw in the sculpture of the portico of this temple, to make him consider it the *ne plus ultra* of Egyptian art. He can have

in their ceilings. We stopped next to examine that at Herment, and soon after found ourselves at Thebes, where the quantity and scale of the remains on both sides of the river are truly astonishing; and since even a very cursory survey would require many days, we remained stationary there for some considerable time. Our rambles even commenced one morning at daybreak, for there is an old story or superstition, that a sound proceeds from one of the two enormous sitting figures in the plain at the moment when the sun rises, and Mr. Bankes, therefore, chose that hour for visit-

examined it with but little care, for the forms are lumpish, and the details, though minute, are far from being either clean or sharp in point of execution: which, indeed, constitute very visible marks of distinction between the works of the early Egyptian times, as compared with the later; this particular temple, and that mentioned next after it, being among the very last.

ing them; I need scarcely add that we heard nothing *.

The head, which had been broken off by the French from a much smaller colossus, and which has since been brought to England, was then lying near its trunk, among some ruins in the same portion of the old city. Sheik Ibrahim's description of this to Mr. Bankes † had given him so ardent a desire for removing it, that he had even

* The reader will easily perceive, that the great Memnon statue is what is meant in this passage; and I am of opinion, that it is by no means impossible that some sound may proceed from it by the variation of atmosphere, since, morning after morning, I have observed that effect produced in the portico at Philæ; where the stones, as they warm or cool, give a crack like that of a panel, or that (to which the ancients compared the statue's voice) of a harp-string.

† Belzoni mentions this, p. 22. If the print in Norden be consulted, it will there be seen plainly, that the statue was in his time quite entire, and lying prostrate on its face; the bust seemed to have been blasted off from it with gunpowder.

brought with him a proper rope, with pullies and machinery, for the purpose; but difficult such an operation must be, and after seeing upon the spot how long, and having no person whom he could leave to superintend it, the project was abandoned, and he contented himself with removing from the great temple on the other bank of the river (called Karnak), two lion-headed sitting figures, of black granite *, and very heavy. He purchased also, during his stay, a remarkably large papyrus †; and when he had seen all the buildings and catacombs, we proceeded in our descent.

* Belzoni afterwards found several others (and in better preservation) for Mr. Salt.

† It is not very remarkable for its length (not measuring above nine feet), but exceeds in breadth any other that I have ever happened to see; it had the singularity also of never having been rolled, but only folded on the breast of the mummy.

The temple at Dendera, even after Thebes, is striking; and there is a great one at Araba Medfoon, which is almost disappearing in the sand.

We found a Bey resident in Echmim *, with a sort of hereditary jurisdiction, and paid our respects to him, as well as at the convent there, where there was one Catholic friar; but in our return to the boat, we were insulted by the populace, it being the fair-time, and they engaged in one of their fanatic dances, so that they took great offence at the sight of the European dress, and at being looked on by infidels, which

* Panopolis, where a huge stone or two, and part of an inscription, are the only remains of a temple which, the Nubian geographer tells us, exceeded all others that were remaining on the banks of the Nile in his time (comparing it particularly with Dendera and some others). It was, indeed, likely enough to be so, for Strabo tells us, that here lived the principal stone-cutters of Egypt.

obliged us to a hasty retreat. This was the only instance in which we met with any incivility in Egypt, so strict is the protection afforded to strangers by Mahomet Ali.

At Sheik Harredy there is some superstition about a serpent, supposed to reside there; but I could find nothing but a small Turkish building, like the common tomb of a Santon.

Speaking, however, of snakes, brings to my mind an incident which ought to have been mentioned during our stay at Thebes; for it was there, in the portico at Gournou, that an itinerant juggler, with a long leathern bag full of hooded and horned serpents, and a case also stocked with arge living scorpions, found us, and exhibited those tricks which I had often seen before in Cairo, of making them bite and sting

him without any effect; but (what was new to me) he offered afterwards, for a very small consideration, to make others as invulnerable as himself, and Mr. Bankes jokingly acceded to the proposal: upon which a white powder, which I believe to have been only chalk, was administered, and some words muttered over him; the teeth and stings of the reptiles were then put into action, and though blood followed the puncture, there was neither pain nor swelling; as I found also myself, when I submitted afterwards to the same mummery: the secret being, no doubt, that the venom is by some process previously extracted.

Pursuing our voyage still downwards, we passed close to the nine noble columns

of the portico at Gau *, which the Nile was visibly undermining; and I grieve to say that there remained only one of them standing in my second voyage, and even that had disappeared when I passed the last time. No building in Egypt was so beautiful as this from the river.

* Antæopolis. It was the only specimen of an entire and uniform portico of the palm-leaved order of columns, of which order it is curious also that no single specimen of an early period should have come down to us, since it happens to be recorded that Amasis employed such in a temple which he built at Sais, so that it was not (as might else have been suspected) a form invented under the Ptolemies, to which period this temple of Antæopolis belonged; and though the proportions were majestic, the work was not very good. Unfortunately the details given of it in the great plates of the French Institute, are, as usual, highly inaccurate. As a scene, the effect from the water was beautiful; the Nile undermined it by changing its course, and is doing the same at Ombos, part of which it has destroyed, and it may be feared that the same fate will also befal Luxor, an ancient and ruinous pier alone protecting it at present.

The next day from thence brought us to Siout, which serves as a sort of capital to Upper Egypt, and was then the residence of Ibrahim Bey (son by adoption to Mahomet Ali), now Ibrahim Pasha, who was building a large palace there for himself, and laying out a spacious garden, with a sort of banqueting-house in the midst of it. Mr. Bankes seemed greatly to regret that a noble piece of ancient architecture * had been beaten down at

* The triumphal arch, a building purely Roman in point of style, but of large proportions; it was unfortunately of limestone, which, wherever it was employed, has been a main incentive to spoliation. It is this that has brought to the ground the majestic portico of Hermopolis since I quitted Egypt; and it proved, upon excavation, that the vast building (not perhaps second to any other at Thebes) that stood behind Memnon and his brother colossus at Thebes, had disappeared from the same cause: the sandstone, and even the granite, affording less temptation to the spoiler.

Sheik Abbadi, and brought hither, to furnish materials; and could not refrain from intimating as much to the Bey himself during his interview, in which nothing, however, was wanting of civility and attention.

Since there are many curious sepulchres to be seen about Siout, we remained there all day; and at night the Bey's European physician, after a supper at his house, called the dancing-girls in to exhibit their postures.

Our next landing was at Radamone, where we mounted asses and rode a distance of two hours to Ashmouneim*, to see a high and massive portico of twelve columns, which, by comparison, made

* Hermopolis. This is that noble ruin whose recent disappearance has been mentioned in the preceding note.

those that we saw just afterwards on the other bank, at Sheik Abbadi*, appear small and meagre, for they are not Egyptian; yet we regretted afresh the lofty gateway which Ibrahim Bey had so lately destroyed there.

At this place we had an instance of that shameless disposition to thieving which prevails among the lower orders, notwithstanding the severity with which it is punished by the existing government. A young lad of the village, after making his dinner with our crew on board, ran off, in the sight of every body, with the large pewter tray out of which he had been eating, on its being handed out to him to wash in the Nile. We could not recover it, but the sheik of the place was made

* Antinoe.

responsible, and brought us a great wooden dish in its room.

Great part of that night and of the next day was spent in the excavated tombs at Ben y Hassan, which are filled with curious pictures, representing almost every circumstance of common domestic life many thousand years ago*.

At Minieh a visit was due to Abdim Cashief, the governor, for the kindness that he always shows to the English; and we stopped afterwards at Ben y Souef to purchase a few necessaries, our stock of them being reduced so low, that they would not hold out another day.

* I have always looked upon these tombs as the most curious in Egypt as to their details, and left it in charge with Dr. Ricci, of Sienna, to complete the drawings of them, which he begun under my eye—a task which he however never thought fit to resume.

The solitary pyramid of Meddoon is the southernmost of all that are visible from the Nile*. It stands on the border of the desert, about one hour distant from the water's edge: here we landed, and made our way to it on foot, and afterwards

* This expression is very proper, for those of Illaoon, which are still more to the southward, are not to be seen from the river. I visited them, fully expecting to find that one of the two would show signs of having formed part of the labyrinth, and was satisfied on the spot that it did so, though the expression ("opus in visum miré infestorere") of Pliny must be borne strongly in mind to account for the little actual remains to be seen. There is a site, however, of vast extent; and I found afterwards that Danville, with his usual sagacity, had not failed to hint at the very same spot. The pyramid itself, being of crude brick, presents no objection to the fact recorded of it, of its being covered over with figures of animals, since it was doubtless coated with stucco at least, if not cased with limestone. That not a trace or a vestige should occur of any pyramid at Thebes, nor in all Upper Egypt, nor till they are found again in quantities in the heart of Ethiopia, seems to me quite unaccountable.

walked on from thence to the pyramids of Dagshoor; and it being determined to proceed in the same manner all the way to those of Geeza, the vessel was ordered to drop down thither, and there to wait for us. Still on foot, therefore, we visited in passing each of the numerous pyramids of Saccara, great and small; and at last, when it was rather late in the day, reached those three, that so much surpass all others, at Geeza. After viewing them externally, and mounting to the summit, the interior was to be explored by torchlight; and there, in the innermost chamber, where is the sarcophagus, Mr. Bankes fainted, and lay without sense or motion.

I cannot tell whether this happened owing to the great fatigues of the day, or from his having, in his examination, got

unawares into the influence of some foul air; but it was a case of great embarrassment to us, since some of the passages are so steeply slanted, and others so very low and crooked, that it was no easy matter to lift a body through them in which life was so entirely suspended, for he did not revive till he reached the external atmosphere.

Seizures of this nature in the subterranean and winding passages of Egypt are not uncommon; and it is even supposed that, in some cases, a person left in that condition, and not carried out, would breathe no more. At Thebes, whilst Mr. Bankes was drawing in one of the grottoes, an Arab, who was holding the light to him, fell down quite dead to appearance, though no other person present, nor even

the candle that was in his hand betrayed any corresponding symptoms: but in that case, as in this, the recovery was immediate by removal to the air.

It was now night, and the inundation, though subsiding, still interposed so much water between the Pyramids and the village of Geeza, that we were not only obliged to make a very circuitous way to it, but also to be carried across in many places on the shoulders of the Arabs, who have huts thereabouts; so that it was near ten o'clock when we reached our vessel, in great need of repose, after a day of excessive bodily fatigue.

The next morning we crossed to Boulak, and so to Cairo, after an absence in the voyage to Nubia, of just three months*.

* December 16, 1815.

Mr. Bankes here resumed his quarters in the Catholic convent, and rested himself for some time, handsomely remunerating all those who had borne part in his expedition, and myself among the number, though he had originally been no party to my engagement with Barthow.

It was now, however, proposed to me that I should continue in the capacity of his janissary and interpreter in the journey to Jerusalem, and other parts of Syria, and I was directed to hold myself in readiness accordingly to set out very shortly.

At the recommendation of Mr. Burckhardt, who was then resident at Cairo under the name of Sheik Ibrahim, and had become the intimate friend of Mr. Bankes, this gentleman now, for the first time, assumed the turban, having already

suffered his beard to grow, as a preparatory step, and after he had once relinquished the European dress, he never afterwards resumed it for upwards of two years. Antonio, either from religious scruples, or from considering that such a weight of drapery must prove an incumbrance, was at first extremely averse to put on a corresponding habit, which the sheik had provided for him, as well as for his master; but it was insisted upon, and he soon became reconciled to it.

No sooner had the new disguise been adopted, than I was called upon to an office of some hazard: which was, to lead the way into some of the principal mosques of the city, particularly that of El Azahar, or the Thousand Columns; that of Sultan Hassan, and of Sultan Calaoon, and seve-

ral others,—a task that was accomplished with great success: for in some few we found no one else besides the keeper of the mosque, and in such cases a small present always ensured civility, and no questions asked; in others, the sight of two persons entering side by side, or at a short interval, according to circumstances, and nearly dressed alike, excited no attention, so that a sight of all that was worth seeing was obtained, without any ill consequence.

The necessary escort, and proper written orders from the Pasha, were already applied for; and, during the short delay that intervened, two young Hanoverians*, who had scrambled their way to Cairo,

* The name of one was Frederick Haspelmath, the other I have forgotten. They seemed to be well-disposed and inoffensive young men.

and had there quartered themselves for some time past in the house of a Prussian physician, applied with so much importunity to be admitted of the party so far as Jerusalem, that it seemed very difficult to refuse them, although in such a journey the addition of two more persons is not a matter of indifference, on account of the increased consumption of water and provisions, especially of the former, which cannot be replenished, excepting at stated and sufficiently distant intervals. They were very meanly dressed in the European manner, and wore hats: one, we understood, had received his education in some veterinary college in France as a surgeon; the other was a cabinet-maker, and had worked at Rome: I could learn no more of their history than this. Both spoke

French, and seemed to have no other incitement to their wanderings than restlessness and curiosity.

Seven dromedaries were provided by the Pasha's order, of which one was for the son of the Sheik of El-Arish*, to whom the safe conduct of the party was consigned; another was for Mr. Bankes; for Antonio and myself one each; and the remainder for baggage, necessaries, and water; each of these last being, over and above, mounted by an Arab, and two more Arabs accompanying us on foot.

It will be seen in this enumeration, that François Barthow was no longer with us, neither was Hallèel the Alexandrian, nor Husseyn the Nubian. All of these remained settled in Cairo, but, with many

* Rinocoroura.

more and particularly Mr. Burckhardt, accompanied us to the great gate of the city, that is called the Gate of Victory*, and there, with a thousand kind wishes, took their leave, just as the sun was going down.

* Bab el Fotouh.

CHAPTER III.

Journey across the Desert—Two German Pedestrians—Risk from Tarabin Arabs—Jerusalem—Bethlehem—Baptism in Jordan—Escape from Jericho—Liberation of a Bedouin Youth—Journey to Djerash and Oomkais—Nazareth—Acre—Lady Hester Stanhope—Druses—Damascus—the Hauran—Hems-Hamah—Aleppo—Journey to Palmyra, and detention there—Return to the Coast—Meeting with the Executioner of a Pasha—Separation from Mr. Bankes near Antioch, who sails for Cyprus.

SOME hope was entertained that the Hanoverians might have abandoned their project, since nothing had been heard of them during all the day, and they did not arrive till the cavalcade was actually in motion; they joined us, however, and no representation that could be made was sufficient to deter them from proceeding.

Mr. Bankes dismounted frequently for an hour or two together during the journey, that these pedestrians might be relieved by riding upon his dromedary, and Antonio and myself occasionally did the same; but the Arabs, who looked on them as an incumbrance, and with an evil eye on account of the dress which they wore, never showed them the smallest complaisance, but seemed to take a pleasure in witnessing the fatigue and shifts that they were reduced to.

So long as our track ran parallel to the Nile, it was necessary to cross frequent inlets of water, the remains of the retiring inundation; and in these cases, while the cabinet-maker paused to take off his stockings, the veterinary surgeon, who was of a slenderer make, would invariably

stand upon the watch behind him, and leap on his comrade's back at the moment when he began to wade, the other reproaching him in a surly tone, and muttering all the way, but still always going through with his burden, to the great amusement of our guides.

Our first halt was, after a short march, at Anche, where we were all received into the house of the sheik of the village; the next was at Belbeis, which we reached very late at night, so that we did not go under any roof, nor even set up the tent which our Arabs had brought with them, but all laid ourselves down to sleep in the open street, the buffalo-hides (which it is the custom, in the process of tanning, to spread on the ground, where they will be most trampled on) making an excellent foundation for our bedding.

A vast mound of dust and rubbish marks Belbeis as the site of some ancient city, which prevented our moving onwards till it was daylight; but there being very little to see there, we set forwards soon after, and were lodged that night with the Sheik of Selahieh. Proceeding from thence again, before sunrise, in the very last splash of water that crossed our way, my dromedary slipped and fell, and I was plunged up to the shoulders, but without any further mischief.

Here we took our leave of cultivation, and entered upon the desert, not passing within sight of any village for three days after.

The nights were excessively damp and cold, so that we were glad, not only of the tent, but of as large a fire also as we could

contrive and afford to make with our scanty materials.

In the course of the fourth or fifth day's journey from Cairo, a long mound became visible at some distance upon our right hand, that seemed to denote something ancient, and near it what bore the appearance of a ruined fort jutting out into the sea. It is called Tineh *, and is a place which Mr. Bankes had previously resolved to visit: therefore taking me and *one* of the escort with him, he ordered the rest to proceed in their course to the next halting-place; and we, on our part, making direct for the object, soon came to a small Arab hut, built with reeds, that stood on the

* Pelusium.—It seems probable that no change has taken place since remote times in the natural appearances here, that ancient Greek name, as well as the Arabic "Tineh," being derived from mud.

very margin of what from its appearance seems to form, at some seasons, a large shallow sheet of water, but presented at this time only a smooth expanse of dark shining mud, to an extent of, perhaps, a mile or two in breadth, firm enough to be passed over by a light weight, and yet yielding to every impression of the foot.

It became indispensable to quit the dromedary, and Mr. Bankes, taking a guide from the hut, found it best to imitate him in going barefoot across this uninviting flat, which, though moist, was so well warmed by the sun's rays, that the sensation in treading it was not unlike that on the polished floor of a bath when heated, and there was nothing clammy or clinging in the nature of the mud.

I did not myself cross it, and it seems

that there was very little to repay the trouble, since nothing else was to be seen besides some very indistinct remains, and a small European gun-carriage, which had, no doubt, been left in Buonaparte's expedition.

Before we took our leave of the hut, a young sick man, who was lying there, and who supposed that all Franks must necessarily be physicians and surgeons, applied to have some remedy prescribed for a hurt which was stated to have been received in circumcision; we had nothing to recommend, and felt some suspicion that he did not state the true cause and nature of his malady *.

* It is possible, however, that the Arab's statement might be correct, for in the American's narrative of the expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, published by Murray, 1822, it is said, "We saw three men, of about

Recovering the rest of our party in the evening, we found them with the tent pitched, and fire lighted. During part of next day we continued close along the sea-shore, and afterwards over a large tract, very strongly incrusted with salt, that has exactly the appearance of snow, sometimes hard enough to bear the camels' weight on its surface, and sometimes yielding to it and receiving the print. Beyond this we passed a well, with some fragments of columns about it, which tempted Mr. Bankes to dismount and examine them; and here the presence of the two Hanoverians had very near cost him his life, for

twenty-five years of age, who had been circumcised but five days past, a thing that I had never before known to have occurred to the children of Mussulmen," p. 19; so that, however contrary to usage, it is clear that the rite is *sometimes* deferred.

some Arabs of the tribe of Tarabin were drawing water, who are naturally a savage race, and retain an implacable hatred to Europeans, from having been the chief sufferers when the French army crossed that desert, and in the execution at Jaffa; two hats, therefore, were no sooner perceived in the party than all the rest became suspected, and his Turkish habit would not have protected my master, who had advanced on foot very considerably before us, had it not been for the prompt outcries and menaces of our young Sheik of El Arish; the Tarabins having already rushed forward, and being in the act of presenting their pieces. The affray terminated in some very ill language upon both sides.

I observed that the Arabs of this particular desert have a custom of striking their foreheads together in token of salutation, which I never saw elsewhere.

We reached El Arish before mid-day, and found it to be a small village, fortified with walls and towers all round; it is the last outpost of the Pasha of Egypt's dominions, and, in reverence to his orders, we were most honourably received and entertained there. The accommodation of the Sheik's house being thought insufficient, the plentiful meal that was prepared of boiled lamb, with rice and butter, was served in the mosque, a most unusual circumstance, and one that could not have taken place in the midst of a larger population; it was, however, hinted that those

who wore the Frank dress would be less welcome, and accordingly two portions were set apart and sent out to them.

What ensued can have given the people of El Arish no high idea of European moderation and sobriety, for there was in the baggage, what Mr. Bankes never afterwards carried, a case of spirits, which some acquaintance at Cairo had presented to him, and which was freely open to the two young Germans, the rest of the party forbearing it altogether; fatigue and a full dinner made it so grateful to them, and left them so little scrupulous as to the quantity, that when we went out to join them, we found both in a state of complete intoxication, to the great scandal of the Mussulmen, but, for our own parts, we thought it more excusable, after so long a march.

Mr. Bankes discovered at El Arish a true piece of Egyptian antiquity *, which he coveted very much. It is used there as a drinking trough, being a piece of fine dark granite, wrought into form and hollowed, with lines of small hieroglyphics upon it, both within and without: he afterwards obtained it as a present from Mahomet Ali, with a full permission in writing for taking it away, which, however, was never carried into effect, as I shall have occasion to mention hereafter in my narrative.

We remained stationary till the next day, and then soon entered upon a more fertile district, which is the territory of

* It is one of those monolith cabinets of which an infinitely larger specimen (of the same form) is, or was, to be seen among the ruins of Antæopolis, the summit finishing pyramidally.

Gaza; a town of considerable size, where we arrived in the evening, and established ourselves in the public khan.

The governor of Gaza is a person of great authority, and having been forewarned by Lady Hester Stanhope that an Englishman, for whom she was interested, would be likely to pass that way about this time, was no sooner informed of our arrival, than he sent an attendant to invite the chief of our party to supper, and to conduct him, with a staff of office and a light, to the Government house. As interpreter, I went also, and our way lying across the interior of the principal mosque, I could observe that Mr. Bankes was much gratified with looking at it, as he passed through, for it is pointed out by tradition to have been a church in the time of the

Crusades, and appears to have been very little altered *.

The supper consisted of a profusion of different dishes, one after the other, in the eastern fashion; after which, on returning to the khan, we found the Hanoverians in the utmost distress and alarm; the whole court-yard was in an uproar; and though no one, not even the two young men themselves, could give any distinct account of what had occasioned it, it was very evident that they had been roughly treated, (though without bodily harm,) their baggage disturbed and tossed about, and they them-

* The number of churches that remain in Syria, built by the Frank kings, is truly astonishing, when it is recollected that all must have been constructed in less than a century. This at Gaza is a fine specimen, and exactly similar to the Gothic churches of Europe at the same period. I have detailed drawings of many of them.

selves on the point, so far as they conceived, at least, of being hurried off to prison. Fanaticism, and a grudge for past injuries, not inferior to that of the Tarabins, had probably been the incentive, heightened, perhaps, by a recital from our guides of the drunken spectacle at El Arish; the sight, however, of the governor's attendant, accompanied with a liberal use of his large stick, soon silenced and dispersed the crowd, and enabled us to shut the gate.

With a soldier from this garrison added to our escort, we proceeded the next morning towards Jaffa, taking Ascalon by the way, which lies to the left hand, upon the sea-coast, and has not more than two or three inhabitants. The circuit of the old

walls, however, is pretty entire, and shews that it must have been once a large place; and there are thought to be some traces of a theatre that was prior to them. In the centre is a heap of indistinct ruin, which is said to have been first a temple, then a church, and last a mosque, but is now reduced to little else besides foundations, and is the spot to which Lady Hester Stanhope came in the year preceding, a distance of so many days journey, and at so vast an expense, to dig for a hidden treasure, of which she had received some mysterious notification, but found nothing besides a headless statue, which was broken to pieces by her order, and was still lying in fragments on the spot.

There are portions of red granite co-

lumns at Ascalon, whose colours appeared to me far more rich and beautiful than any that I ever saw in Egypt *.

We slept in one of the few existing hovels there, ceiled with brushwood laid thickly across the rafters, a mode of construction that appeared new to me, coming from Egypt. Fresh milk was brought to us for our breakfast, and honey, of which we had seen hives in abundance in this last day's journey.

At Jaffa, the consul Damiani received us into his house,—the first person whom I had ever seen wearing powdered hair,

* This observation is very just; the rose-colour is deeper, and the grey tints less predominant. It has puzzled me much to think from what quarries the innumerable columns of this material, in the cities along that coast, were brought; and even so far inland as Palmyra there are four of them.

and a gold-laced cocked hat, with the flowing oriental habit, a grotesque combination that afterwards became more familiar to me in the consular houses at Aleppo.

The entertainment was hospitable, though the building was of so crazy a construction, and so full of large rat-holes, that no sufficient footing could be found on the upper floor for the legs of Mr. Bankes's bedstead, which obliged us to lay the mattress without it; and he told me the next morning, that the delivery of the consul's son's wife, which happened that night in the room underneath, might just as well have taken place in his apartment.

The journey from Cairo had occupied ten days; and, after two of rest, application was made to the governor of Jaffa for mules, and a safe conduct to Jerusalem.

A Janissary was sent*, accordingly, to conduct us, and mules for all, even including the two pedestrians; so we departed at daybreak, a few Greek pilgrims joining our company, some on foot and some mounted; one fat couple, especially, sat balanced in paniers on the two sides of their mule. All these paid a toll in a narrow defile upon the road; but our own party was exempted by an order from the governor.

The way is wild and barren, and so steep in parts, that we often chose to dismount; and when, at the distance of about half an hour, we first came in sight of the walls and battlements of Jerusalem, all alighted, as is the custom, and kneeled down, and then continued on foot to the gate.

* January 2, 1816.

We were kindly received in the Roman Catholic convent, and lodged there during our stay; but the monks soon got weary of the poor Hanoverians, and of the childish and inconsiderate scrapes to which they exposed themselves, particularly after the disappearance of one of them during a whole night, who, being locked out of the city gate, had shewn a piece of money under it to the soldiery within, as a bribe, which was snatched out of his hand during the treaty, and he was left there to his reflections till morning. Within a few days they took their departure very unwillingly, Mr. Bankes hiring some return mules for them to Acre, and we heard no more of them.

Some days were occupied in visiting the holy sepulchre, the Mount of Olives and

Sion, the vale of Jehoshaphat, and tomb of the kings (which last is a large excavation, yet far inferior to those in Egypt); but as the Christmas of the Greeks was fast approaching, Mr. Bankes determined to witness their ceremonies at Bethlehem, where more than a thousand pilgrims of that persuasion were collected.

We, therefore, removed thither early in the preceding day, and saw this multitude dining on the terrace-roof of the monastery, chiefly on olives and snails*, for it was fast-time.

We were lodged ourselves in that division of the same building which belongs to the Latins, for different shares of it are assigned to the different persuasions, the

* Snails are much eaten also by the lower orders in Sicily.

great Church of the Nativity, a handsome and spacious building, with three aisles, remaining common to all.

The friars, whose guests we were, strongly discountenanced our attendance at a mass that was heretical, and gave us warning, that should we persist in going into the church, we must not expect to find any egress until morning.

It proved indeed a very great fatigue, for the birth-place of the Saviour is underground, and very small, and was crowded with lights, and an immense throng of people even from dusk, the women sitting squatted on the floor and the men climbing and straddling over them, so that there were sometimes screams, and generally loud disputes, and even blows going on in some part or other of this little sanctuary

all night long; but the interest greatly increased as midnight approached, there being a superstitious belief that the lamps hanging at the altar are seen to tremble of themselves at that moment.

Though our position, however, was very close to them, we could observe no such thing, yet nevertheless heard eye-witnesses asserting it afterwards on that very night.

To conciliate the Latin fathers, it was agreed that we should stay for their Epiphany; and in the mean time we witnessed a great humiliation of their rivals, both Greek and Armenians; for both these communities had lately raised a small superstructure in their quarter of the convent, which they were peremptorily ordered by the Aga of Jerusalem to demolish imme-

diately with their own hands, under pretext that his special permission had not been obtained for it, and soldiers were sent over to superintend this work of destruction, which was completed in the sight of all their collected flock, and of the Latins, who, far from bearing any share in their mortification, were even accused by them as the instigators.

The great tanks near Bethlehem, called the pools of Solomon, are well worth seeing, and I was shewn close to the village a field remarkably stony, which it is asserted cannot be cleared, it being the punishment of a churlish husbandman, who, upon the Virgin Mary inquiring of him what grain he was sowing, had answered "pebbles," and was promised in return that "he should reap as he sowed." Such

is the legend that I was told upon the spot.

After the Epiphany, (which presented a fresh scene of religious contests,) the Greek baptism was to take place in the river Jordan, and was very naturally an object of curiosity.

The pilgrims, having women and children amongst them, moved at a slow rate; therefore Mr. Bankes, under the guidance and protection of four Christians of Bethlehem, armed with guns, did not set out till many hours after them, and travelling (as they also did) through the night, reached the spot on the river in good time for the ceremony in the morning *.

Whilst it was going on, and great numbers in the water, seven mounted Be-

* January 17, 1816.

doueens, armed with lances, appeared on the other bank. I was directed to make them a sign of peace, which they soon answered, and came to a parley, in which it was agreed that two of them should join us as an escort, which might make a longer delay, and further researches practicable in those dangerous parts.

At our suggestion they took us to Ribha (the ancient Jericho *) for the night, as unconscious as we ourselves were, that this little Arab village had revolted the very day before from the Aga of Jerusalem, and had burned a written order received from him, so that it was quite in a lawless state.

* It is quite astonishing how small vestiges remain even to mark the site of a city so considerable, that had a tower in it inferior only to the Egyptian Pharos; while others of so much less note, almost within the same district, exhibit such noble remains.

The Christian guides had quitted us and returned; and had our Bedoueens left us to our fate, it had perhaps been all over with us, for the inhabitants, though they set coffee and refreshments before us, refused to share them, and would give no pledge for our safety, beyond the stay under their roof.

That night, therefore, and the early part of the morrow, were passed in great uneasiness, for appearances did not at all improve by daybreak; all the men of the place were armed, and on horseback, and, though some other pretext was held out, it was plain enough that their object was to intercept and to plunder us, but we had dissembled our suspicions, and spoke always of the road to Jerusalem.

Our mounting was delayed till all were

gone out of sight, though we still judged that they were not far off, from the unusual number of women who remained standing upon the house-tops, and watching us, as if anxious to see the issue of the encounter. Fortunately, there is a thicket of thorny plants close about the village, which partially concealed us at first starting, and enabled our faithful and crafty guides, the Bedoueens, to lead us in quite a different track from that of our enemies; from whence, turning short up into the mountain, and scrambling over stones for the sake of leaving no print of our horse-hoofs, they carried us by a very circuitous and broken way, not far from a solitary mosque, that is called the Tomb of Moses*,

* I know not on the ground of what passage of the Koran, or idle tradition, the tomb of Moses is thus

alighting only once, where there was water, to bake bread for us, out of flour that they had with them, and so kept us wandering till night, when we found ourselves at the gate of a fortified Greek convent, called St. Saba.

Here it was with great difficulty that we were able to attract any attention from within, and with still greater that we got any door opened to us, from the necessary fears and precautions of the poor monks; we did, however, succeed in this at last, and slept there, so that our return to Bethlehem was not till the next day, an arrangement that had certainly saved us from being way-laid and pillaged, for we

placed by the Mahomedans at this place, on the hither side of Jordan, but believe that is held in no respect by the Jews.

found that the party in pursuit of us had, in the preceding afternoon, robbed all who came in that direction, as well as quite up to the walls of Jerusalem.

At the Convent of the Nativity our two Bedoueens were welcomed as well as ourselves, and one of them, whose name was Mahomet Daheidy, here disclosed to us that his son was in prison, as a hostage, at Jerusalem, for a robbery of the Aga's camels, which was imputed to his tribe.

This seemed to offer a handsome opportunity for the repayment of good offices, and Mr. Bankes eagerly seized it, pledging himself to do his utmost in order to get the young man liberated: yet it was with difficulty that the father was prevailed on to trust himself with us the next day for this purpose within the walls of the city,

his comrade taking his leave of us at the gates, and returning to his tents.

It now became necessary to apply for an audience of the Aga, in which neither rich presents nor entreaty were spared, to obtain grace for his prisoner, which was not at last conceded without much hesitation and reluctance.

The youth was restored to his parents in our presence, yet so strong is habitual dissimulation and mistrust in these countries, that so long as they remained in the governor's sight, even the force of natural affection did not prevail, neither party testifying any strong emotion of either surprise or joy, whether from the feeling of respect, or the fear of a retractation, I cannot say; but they no sooner reached our convent, than the feelings found their

full vent, both in tears and embraces; and the father, tying a scarf of white linen upon his lance, and dyeing the tail of his white mare with henneh, paraded through the street, proclaiming the favour that he had received from the Aga, and from the Christian strangers.

Gratitude now prompted him to undertake the difficult task of procuring a safe-conduct to the country beyond Jordan, and to the interesting ruins there of Djerash and Oomkais. His own tribe being unequal to this, he went to confer with another, and left us for some days with a promise of returning.

During his absence, visits passed between Mr. Bankes and some Abyssinians of rank, who had attended a sister of their king upon his pilgrimage hither by way of

the Red Sea; the princess herself had died very recently, and we found the suite of both sexes apparently very poor and simple people, who had nothing with them worthy of note, except some religious books, with paintings in them.

The breed of saddle-horses about Jerusalem being held in esteem, two mares had been purchased for our journey, no more being necessary, since Antonio was to go straight to Nazareth with all the baggage, excepting such instruments and papers as would be required. So that when Mahomet Daheidy came back, bringing with him a Bedouëen of a more powerful tribe, we were ready to set out immediately *; and, after a feast in Daheidy's tent, where we were received with great welcome and re-

* January 18, 1816.

joicings, slept as his guests the first night, not very far from the city.

Passing Jericho the next morning, a horseman was sent to reconnoitre our party, whom we engaged to join us, and so crossed the Jordan.

With our present guides we felt little alarm from wandering Arabs, but much more from peasants and cultivators, who seldom are at peace with them, and always carry fire-arms in that country, so that we shunned all villages, eating and lodging in tents that we found by the way, and passing through an upland district of wood, and thickets, and pasture, much pleasanter than any which we had seen westward of Jordan.

The fourth day brought us to Djerash*,

* The plans, elevations, and views, taken of this noble

whose ruins exceeded expectation; they are not massive like those of Egypt, but, for the most part, light, and slender, and beautiful, with almost innumerable columns standing in rows, and others curved into a great open circle.

Among the more solid buildings are two theatres, with their covered passages, and seats, like vast flights of steps, extremely perfect.

Though Palmyra is, perhaps, superior in the quantity and extent of remains, yet it never appeared to me to present any one general prospect so rich and magnificent

city during my several visits, were arranged some years since, so as to be almost ready for publication, but other matters calling me off from them, it has been delayed. I shall hope, however, to be able to produce some portion of that and of other cities of the Decapolis and beyond Judea in the course of the present year.

as that which we commanded in looking back upon Djerash, when we went towards the village of Soof.

For there being no Bedoueen camp near, our guides, with reluctance, carried us thither to pass the night; and we had no reason to congratulate ourselves on our reception. The inhabitants were fanatic and ill-disposed to us, and saw Mr. Bankes's mare die there with the utmost indifference, from having eaten of the oleander *, to which she had been tied in the course of the afternoon.

He not having, however, completed his drawings and plans, was not to be deterred from returning for a second examination, yet only won the compliance of Mahomet

* Pliny mentions the poisonous property of the oleander.

Daheidy to this project by the sacrifice of a scarlet pair of boots, received as a present from his Abyssinian friends at Jerusalem.

When all was finished at Djerash, our three conductors lent each his horse in turn; and passing along a high ridge of forest, we proceeded to Oomkais, which is also a great ruined city, and stands on an eminence, with a noble view towards the lake of Tiberias.

We found the only inhabitants there living in the ancient tombs, which are cut in the live rock, and have doors of stone to them, still turning on their pivots, and securing them at night.

There are natural hot-springs in the valley below; from whence, recrossing the Jordan, and passing under Mount Tabor,

we found ourselves at Nazareth by night-fall, after having consumed a little more than a week in this circuit; and here our guides were dismissed with ample payment and presents.

This is the journey in which Mr. Buckingham was in our company, bearing, however, no part in it either with his purse or with his pencil; yet this did not prevent all that inconvenience which resulted from it afterwards, both to myself and to my master, who had certainly every reason to have looked for a very different return.

The next excursion was into Samaria, and particularly to a strong castle there upon a hill, called Sanhoor, where Hadj Hamet, an hospitable and excellent man, had an hereditary jurisdiction, who treated

and lodged us very kindly, and took us out with him the next morning to hawk the gazelle.

From thence to Bisan and to Tiberias, where, sleeping in the church, we were almost devoured by fleas; and the next night we encountered the small-pox in the reed huts of some Arabs, within the ruins of Cæsarea.

Owing to this having been a season of uncommon drought in all Syria, the grass and crops had quite failed, and the poorer sort of people were almost famished; in consequence of which, at Atleek, a very small place upon the coast, we found in the chamber which is allotted to travellers and strangers, all the male inhabitants collected together to pass the night, pursuant to a vow, that none would enter his

harem till heaven should remove from them this grievous calamity: I omitted to mention at Jerusalem, that during our stay there, some weeks before, almost all the population, with the Aga at their head, moved in procession to an open space without the city, where they prostrated themselves in prayer for the same object: a spectacle as solemn as any that I have ever seen *.

At Acre, Solyman Pasha gave a very gracious welcome, and every attention was shewn by Malem Haim, the rich Jew, who was his banker and prime-minister, as he had before been to Djezzar, who had, however, deprived him of his nose.

* Mengin, vol. i., p. 324, speaks of a similar procession out of the city of Cairo in August, 1808, to implore an increase of the Nile, and adds, "c'était une cérémonie vraiment touchante."

In the Pasha's palace two remarkable refugees were living at that time, Amim Bey (Elfi's brother), of whose wonderful escape during the massacre of the Mamelukes I have spoken before; and another Solyman Pasha, who had held that title for a very short time in Damascus, but was lately deprived, and accused, among other things, of having poisoned his predecessor in the return from Mecca. He probably paid highly for the precarious protection which he was now receiving; but when Mr. Bankes ventured to hint to him in conversation a retreat to Europe, he seemed to be either obstinate or resigned, and to prefer the hazard of his life to an asylum in a Christian country.

Permission was obtained for seeing the beautiful mosque built by Djezzar, and

the fine public bath was engaged and lighted up at night expressly for our use.

We passed by Tyre, less desolate than I was prepared to find it *, and then into the fertile district of Sidon, where, turning from the sea-coast to a distance of about two hours †, upon the skirts of Mount Libanus, and commanding a delightful prospect, we found the residence of Lady Hester Stanhope, a small building, called Mar Elias, built as a Christian convent, but lately repaired and furnished by its present occupant. Within, a neat corridor surrounded a little square court, into which all the chambers opened, including a bath which had recently been added to its ac-

* It has been improving (particularly in the commerce of tobacco) of late years.

† February 23, 1816.

commodations, the whole consisting only of one story.

Lady Hester wore the male attire of that country; but very seldom left the house. Her establishment consisted of two female English servants, and several natives, both Druse and Christian, who were inmates; but her English physician was lodged apart in the village, where also Antonio and myself had our quarters assigned: for there was room only for Mr. Bankes under the roof, who remained there upwards of three weeks, and the weather proving unfavourable, very seldom went out to any distance during that time, excepting once, under the doctor's guidance, to a beautiful summer residence of Lady Hester at Abra, near the summit of the mountain; and to a remarkable

cave, not far from it, worked out by art, in the side of a precipice, and accessible only by a very narrow shelf of the rock, said to be connected with the romantic story of Fakr Eddyn.

But for the research of the antiquary there was a greater treat much nearer home, in a sepulchral chamber very recently discovered, under some ground almost adjoining to Mar Elias, with figures at full length, and a few Greek words painted on the stucco, and well preserved. Copies of all in detail were added to the store of drawings, and even some of the originals successfully sawed off and removed during this visit *.

* There were nine figures, male and female, whole length, and about three parts the size of life: the most part of them were represented carrying dishes as to

As for myself, my gun was in the meanwhile my principal resource, and had full occupation, yet I never was fortunate enough to include one of the small mountain-leopards in my day's sport, though they are to be seen not unfrequently.

A Syrian servant or two, whom the lady recommended Mr. Bankes, at parting, to add to his suite, proved rather an incumbrance, (though he retained them for some weeks,) for the passage over the mountain to Damascus was become sufficiently difficult from the snow, without this addition to our baggage and numbers.

We deviated from the most direct track to pay a visit to the Prince of the Druses,

the funeral-feast, with the name of each of the dishes written above. The execution was coarse, but the style free and sufficiently good.

who is lodged rather magnificently in a spacious palace, ornamented after the Turkish manner, surrounded by that singular and mysterious people whom he rules over, and whose religion is unknown, though he is himself a Christian. The women there of all ranks wear upon their heads a long horn of metal or silver, and the men of a particular class, called Okkals (supposed the priests), a milk-white turban, very neatly and singularly folded.

It was necessary to clamber from thence over a pass that was covered deep in snow; and some researches made afterwards in the passage over Djebbel el Sheik occasioned delay, but brought to light several temples that were not before known: from whence we descended upon

Damascus, one of the pleasantest cities of the east.

The new Pasha had been nominated, but was not yet arrived; his *locum tenens*, however, granted an escort of soldiers, which I was directed to apply for, to conduct us through the province of Hauran.

Mr. Burckhardt was, I believe, the first European who explored it, and had furnished Mr. Bankes with directions.

It is one of the most singular countries that ever I saw; a part of it, called Ledja*, is all covered over with great masses of stone as black as ink, which seem to have been discharged from extinct volcanoes which we visited †, but most of the re-

* Ledja is unquestionably Trachonitis.

† The largest is called Sheik Hawn, and is very con-

mainder is a vast plain, producing abundant crops in fruitful years, but which, in this, had no other aspect throughout than that of a bare desert. No feature of the whole province, however, is so remarkable, as the prodigious number of antique villages that stand scattered over it, with the dwelling-houses of a thousand years old and more, remaining quite entire; no other material having been employed throughout in them, besides this black stone, even to the very planking of the ceilings, and to the doors and shutters, which still turn upon their pivot-hinges. Greek inscriptions, and carved devices, are upon many of these houses, which are mostly small and low,

siderable; some smaller craters stand close to the walls of the ancient city Shohba: the avenue to one of its principal gates is between two of them.

few rising to a second story, but the best surround little courts, and have sometimes the appendage of stables, with all the mangers cut in solid stone. Square towers are also seen, sometimes intermixed, and sometimes quite detached from other buildings, which seem to have been the burial-places*.

The most extensive examples of the kind that I have been describing, seemed to be those at Ezra, Missimie, Soueyda, Shohba, and Bostra; but there is scarcely a space of an hour's ride in all that tract, where they do not abound on a larger or smaller scale.

By far the greater part are quite empty,

* In one or two I found the sarcophagi, and on a few others sepulchral inscriptions, but they are strangely intermixed with the domestic buildings in many instances.

or inhabited only periodically, and by chance-comers, for they serve by turns both the Bedoueen and the cultivating Arabs, as occasion requires; and the first occupant becomes the possessor for the time being, so that in frequent instances we found the litter of cattle, and embers of the day before, where there was not a living creature to be seen.

In several places the temples remain, though generally less perfect than the private houses, and in some the theatres also, particularly at Bostra, where is the largest and most entire of them all, now converted into the castle *.

Another portion of this district is more elevated, and notwithstanding that wood

* I believe this to be the most entire antique theatre remaining in any country.

grows there, the buildings still exhibit the same mode of construction; it is called Djibbel Hauran, or sometimes Djibbel Druse, from a small colony settled there of that nation and persuasion, who are at perpetual war with the Arabs, and were at that time governed by a sheik of their own, named Shibleh *, a brave and enterprising man, whom we visited at his residence at Aelra, and, having brought a letter to him from Mr. Burckhardt, were received with great kindness.

He added one or two of his own people to our escort, who continued with us many

* During his life, the Druses of the Hauran kept the Bedoueens quite in awe; however, in my second journey through the Hauran in 1818, I found that he had been killed in an encounter with them, and that his cousin had nominally succeeded to his authority, but not at all to his real credit or power.

days, and I would fain have discovered from them something of their customs and religion, but could never succeed. It was plain, however, that they were no Christians, for it was now the season of one of the long fasts, and they ate meat when they could get it;—quite as little did they conform to the Mahommedan observances.

While staying in one of those antique dwellings that have been described, at a place called Shakkah, there was a considerable fall of snow, which discomposed all our plans, and kept us prisoners there three days, it being impossible to make any progress, or even drawings and measurements, till it was melted.

Luckily our guides knew of an Arab story-teller within reach, so we sent for

him, and his tales served as a resource during this uncomfortable delay.

But this hard weather disgusted Mr. Bankes of the journey, and prevented, for that time, his penetrating quite so far as he had purposed, though he did so about two years afterwards, when I was not with him.

It is by no means a safe country, being much infested and overrun by the Bedoueens, and we once met a poor man on foot who had been robbed and nearly stripped by two of them, almost in our sight, in his way to Mezerebe. Neither are the Arabs of the soil very honest, for Mr. Bankes's purse was twice stolen from him during the night; once in the house of the Sheik of Bostra, and again in a village near Missemie.

It was with regret, however, that he quitted a country so curious, after a stay in it of five weeks, and returned for a while to Damascus.

The vast temples at Baalbeck detained us two whole days in the road from thence to Hems, where it was expected that some arrangement might be made for crossing the desert to Palmyra: and if a personal preference could, under existing circumstances, have in any way brought it about, the Motsellim of Hems would certainly have contrived it, for, from the first interview, he conceived such an affection for Mr. Bankes, that he seemed to have hardly any other thought than how to gratify his wishes during his stay; every amusement was resorted to that could beguile the time; the jereed, the bath, an

entertainment in the interior part of his palace, and one also in a rich tent on the banks of the Orontes, followed each other, day after day; but all could not divert the traveller from his purpose, or soothe his impatience, so that when it became apparent that his friend could (in the present state of the country, without any Pashaw at Damascus) as little procure a safe conduct for him, as he would consent to expose him to any risk, they parted with mutual kindness, and the experiment was to be tried from Hamah.

Here we were the guests of Selim, Christian secretary of the governor, a very humorous and debauched character, but yet high in authority, so that great hope was entertained that he might have brought the Bedoueens who command the neigh-

bouring desert to terms, but all his endeavours were ineffectual, for the interregnum at Damascus (to which place all the others in that province are subordinate) had thrown the country into so lawless a state, that no one was willing to make himself responsible for a safe return from Palmyra, without an escort so great, and a demand of money so unreasonable, that all negociation was broken off or suspended, and with regret Mr. Bankes took his leave, and turned towards Aleppo.

In the way thither by Djibbel Reahah, there occur large ancient towns in ruin, but they differ from those of the Hauran in being roofless *; beyond them, all the

* El Bara is, perhaps, the most extensive of these ruined cities, but they are numerous. It is a part of the country much mentioned in the crusades, yet few buildings, if any, of that period are to be found there.

latter part of the road is across a great flat that skirts the desert, and is very liable to incursions from the Arabs, which induced us, as we had no escort, and also no heavy baggage, to press on almost as fast as our horses could carry us, and we thus reached the city within a few hours, which is large and handsome, but its situation and appearance pleased me less than Damascus.

The British Consul, Mr. Barker, received his countryman with distinction, and made him an inmate of his handsome houses, both in town and country.

During our stay, I witnessed the public entry of a new Pasha from Constantinople, who graced it, among other things, with the unusual show of more than ten European carriages; and about the same time

intelligence reached us that the other, so long expected at Damascus, was already in Syria, and would be at Hamah, in his way thither, immediately.

Attempts already made by the Consul to send us by a different route to Palmyra with the Arabs of Sukney having failed entirely, the best chance left seemed to be an immediate return to Hamah, and a direct application to this new potentate.

We found him halted there, with a vast retinue, and with a great reputation for severity of character, which were circumstances of advantage to us.

I was commissioned to present to him the firman from the Porte, and explained my errand, Selim kindly seconding all that was urged.

Accordingly when the Bodoueen Sheik,

Nasser, son of Mahannah, (the chief of the Annasee tribe commanding in all that desert,) came the next day, according to established usage, to be invested with the turban, it was intimated gently to him that he must remain as a hostage for the safe return of the Englishman, and in the mean time supply him with a suitable guide, for a definite sum, which was fixed at a thousand piastres.

The arrangement was sullenly acceded to, and a single Negro Bedoueen slave provided, bearing Sheik Nasser's lance, and his deputed authority.

We learned upon the way that the alarms which we had before listened to had been well founded, for that all this dismal desert had been lately a scene of confusion and warfare, on account of a

girl, whom this very Nasser, who was our hostage, had carried off from a neighbouring tribe.

We took with us but a very small supply of water, because some was to be found by the way; and very early in the fourth morning reached the ruins, which are very noble, and so extensive, that all the day was employed in rambling over them; and, at night, retiring into the Temple of the Sun, (which, though a ruin, is still used as a sort of fortified dwelling,) we found Sheik Hamed, the younger brother of Sheik Nasser, in the occupation of it.

He refused all egress the following day, and again the next, placing a guard upon the chamber door, and closing the great gate, insisted upon some larger present,

which was as peremptorily denied him, for Mr. Bankes felt convinced that he had been *secretly authorised* to act so, but that he durst not press it so far as to put his brother's liberty or life into serious hazard.

On the third morning the temper of the chief seemed changed, and he invited us to partake his sport in hawking the gazelle, hoping, as I believe, that we should seize that opportunity to escape. But since all was not completed yet in the ruins, this was declined.

Subsequently, in the course of the same afternoon, the guard was taken off the door, and the temple gate set open without conditions, but with a strong recommendation of an immediate return to Hamah; Mr. Bankes, however, made ample use of

the remainder of that day with his paper and pencil*, and did not take his leave till about the middle of the next, after making a small voluntary present, and an exhortation to the young Sheik that he should behave better to travellers in future. So they parted at last with many friendly salutations.

The little water that remained in the well upon the way, as we came, had been since dried up, or exhausted by the wild

* Perhaps the most singular discovery that I made at Palmyra, is a Hebrew inscription on the architrave of a doorway among the ruins of the town. I observed also (what seems to have escaped the scrutinizing and accurate eyes of Wood and Dawkins), that the practice of making the doors themselves of stone (as in the Hauran) prevailed. I found many fragments of them, one pair so large near the temple of the Sun, that I suspect them to have formed the principal gate to it, and a much smaller pair is yet standing in its place, near the outskirts of the city.

beasts and birds, which caused us some embarrassment, but threw us into a different track, where we found almost all the old Roman mile-stones still standing in their places.

A wild sow and her four pigs were the only living objects that we saw, for it is a very dreary desert, and we were glad to get back to the hospitable roof of our friend Selim at Hamah *, whose house was spacious within, and pleasantly situated, but the door leading to it not more than three or four feet high, a precaution universal among the Christians and Jews of some of the Syrian cities, against tumults, and sudden bursts of fanaticism. Their women seemed here to be kept under more restraint, and more out of sight in the

* June 9, 1816.

interior than was usual among those of their religion in other places.

During our short stay, I myself was obliged to be a close prisoner, and under a sort of concealment, owing to my misfortune and imprudence on the evening of our return, in having wounded with a pistol ball in the leg a Turkish soldier of the Delhi * regiment, who fired at me coming out of a coffee-house, as we were disputing about our winnings in a game of chance. His friends and comrades had traced me out, and repeatedly called at the little low gate, demanding me, in order to have their revenge, but it was always asserted there

* Delhi signifies mad, and is the name given to a class of soldiers in the Turkish army on account of the desperate courage that is imputed to them: they wear high upright caps of black felt, and are mostly Koords by nation.—See Mengin, vol. i., p. 123.

that I was gone, and though my master was displeased with me, he favoured my escape, by making the first stage in his way to Tripoli before it was light.

Nothing appeared at all remarkable in that direction excepting a small lake, which we coasted round.

At Tripoli I fell sick for a few days at the old Consul's house, and Mr. Bankes went up in the mean time into Libanus to Eden, and to visit the cedars.

At Tartoos there is a large Gothic church*, that is almost entire, but made no use of, and some very rude sculptured

* This church at Tortosa is a very interesting specimen of the lancet Gothic, and is perfect even to the very vaulting. It is a spot that should be interesting to an Italian, for it is that on which Tasso opens his Jerusalem.

monuments of an early age, built with huge stones, within sight of the sea *.

Whilst we were in the Khan there after dark, a Tartar came in, and joined us at our supper. He laid a sort of basket down by him, and told us soon afterwards that it contained the head (even offering to shew it to us) of that refugee Suleyman Pasha, whom we had conversed with at Acre, which, after strangling him, according to his instructions, he was carrying back with him to Constantinople, to be laid at the Seraglio gate.

In the mountains thereabout live the Ismaelies, Ansaries and Kelbies, three sects,

* These most singular and early sepulchral monuments were first noticed by Maundrell in his journey, which is up to this day the best book upon all that part of Syria which fell within his route; very little has been added to it by subsequent travellers.

the nature of whose several religions is quite as unknown as that of the Druses: we saw them in their fields as we passed, but went little amongst them, because M. Boutin, a French traveller, had very recently been murdered in some part of their district. So that Latikieh was the next resting-place; where there are antiquities, and a pleasant tract of cultivation all round.

But the approach towards Antioch surpasses all in beauty of landscape, and is quite different in character from any part of Syria which we had before seen; even the very houses wear a new appearance, having pent roofs with tiles on them; and there are regular fields also fenced round with hedges, and even gates to them, little circumstances that render the wildness and

grandeur of the natural scenery the more striking, with its combinations of forest, mountain, and water, which are varied at every turn.

It was a singularity also to find, as we advanced, the Turkish becoming all at once the commonly spoken language, in lieu of the Arabic.

The city itself is now neither considerable nor handsome, yet makes a figure, from the magnificence and great extent of its old walls and towers, which attest its former importance.

We made an excursion from thence for a day to visit the remains of the great church of St. Simeon (Stelites), an immense ruin, situated high up in a solitary wild; the whole is in form of a cross; but a great octagon, where the four arms

meet, seems always to have stood open to the sky, since the span is too broad to have been covered; there is no part left of the pillar on which the Saint is said to have lived so many years; but a mass of the live rock stands up square in the centre, which was probably its pedestal.

A great chief among the Koords had not long since repaired a part of the adjoining buildings for his residence, but feeling alarm at the new Pasha of Aleppo, had withdrawn to a distance, so that we found no person there, and proceeded to examine other early Christian remains that abound in all that neighbourhood; and then returned to Antioch.

The sea-coast is at the distance of several miles, and the road to it, down a charming valley, following the course of

the Orontes, is scarcely inferior in beauty to the mountain region by which we first came. Armenian and Turkman villages are every where in sight, with cultivation, and fruit-gardens, and mulberry-grounds for their silk-worms, interspersed amongst them.

The port is at Suadieah *, near which also are considerable vestiges of antiquity. Here it was that I reluctantly took my leave of Mr. Bankes, he embarking †, with Antonio, for Cyprus, in a Greek vessel,—my little knowledge of that language, and repugnance to the sea, making it probable that I could be of no further service to him at that time; but he parted from me with expressions and proofs of kindness that I shall ever remember.

* Seleucia. † June 26, 1816.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author revisits Aleppo—War against the Koords—Cruelties—returns to Egypt—enters the Service of a Bey—Inspector of his Works—Mr. Salt—Belzoni—Opening of the Temple of Abousombal—Description of it—Affray at Kalapshé—Discovery of the Tomb at Thebes—More English Travellers—Difficulties at Derr—Voyage back to Cairo—and by Damietta to Jaffa with Mrs. Belzoni.

So soon as Mr. Banks had sailed, I took my departure for Aleppo with his horses, which he had left in my charge, with a commission there to dispose of them; and I had a strong written recommendation to Mr. Barker, in case I should choose to establish myself in Syria, and another for the consul-general in Egypt, should I prefer returning to that country.

I remained some days under Mr. Barker's friendly roof; but, notwithstanding his kindness, and the almost unequalled variety and abundance of game in that immediate neighbourhood, which furnished a constant resource to so keen a sportsman, I soon saw enough of the city and its inhabitants, to feel confident that I should never like it so well as Cairo.

Yet I was tempted to attach myself, for a very short time, to the military service of the new Pasha, who was making war already upon the Koords, to repress and punish their insolencies, (with which they had harassed the province in his predecessor's time,) and this with so much the advantage on his side, and with so much severity, that it was almost a war of extermination, numbers being, almost daily,

brought in, dead or alive or mutilated, who were impaled before the city gates, and there left, a horrid spectacle.

But there was neither that union and harmony among the soldiers themselves, nor between them and their officers, that I had been used to*; and, therefore, soon becoming disgusted, I withdrew; and joining a caravan for Latikieh, there took a passage on board a vessel laden with timber, to Damietta; and from thence, again, by boat, to Cairo.

Here I immediately sought out the consul-general, and, presenting my paper of introduction to him, was sorry to find that, though he was but very lately arrived, his

* The Janissaries, for ages past, formed a very strong and unruly party in Aleppo; and it is a place that has been subject, from time to time, to great military ferments and disorders.

posts for Janissaries were already filled up, and his suite completed in all respects. He received me, however, most graciously; and, when he had read the favourable report in Mr. Bankes's letter, expressed even some share in my disappointment, and promised that he would not fail to recommend me as interpreter to any English travellers who should stand in need of one.

I was induced, therefore, to hold myself disengaged for some time, in the hope of such a chance, not having yet expended all my gains, but none such appearing, and my purse gradually growing lighter, I became weary of remaining idle, and returned again to the army, attaching myself to an Albanian Bey, who commanded a troop of horse, which obliged me also to provide myself with one.

"I grew into great favour with my new officer, so that he trusted me much more than any other in his company, and very soon selected me to have the superintendence of some works that were carrying on for him in the Isle of Rhoda, where he was making a very delightful garden. My office was that of overlooking the labourers and workmen and keeping them steadily to their several employments, which, as their number was considerable, occupied my time very fully, and very agreeably, also; for there cannot be a more fruitful and pleasant spot than that island, which lies very near Boulak (the port of Cairo), in the Nile, and has in it, amongst other beauties, the noblest row of large spreading sycamore trees that is anywhere to be seen; said, by tradition, to have been planted there by a negro

slave*; the Mikkias†, also, where is the pillar on which the measurements are marked for the inundation, is there, though much ruined during the late Mameluke wars.

I had held this station at Rhoda about six months, when, one day, the British Consul-general, on his way to the pyramids, (where some extensive researches were begun, and especially towards uncovering the body of the Great Sphinx‡,) passed

* When Mengin ascribes this walk of sycamore-trees to the French, he can only be understood as meaning the *walk* itself, for the trees cannot be less than a century old.

† The building inclosing the Mikkias had been used as a fort.—*Mengin*, vol. i. p. 89: and Ali Bey says of it, in 1806, "This monument, which is of such high importance, is now abandoned to a horde of soldiers, or rather barbarians, who conspire to destroy it."—vol. ii. p. 23.

‡ It is much to be regretted, that the full account which Mr. Salt had drawn up of the results both of his

that way, and recognising me immediately, spoke with great civility, and desired that I would call at his house the next day; which I did not fail to do; and Mr. Salt, (for that was this gentleman's name,) sending for me up into his drawing-room, told me that he could now find a post for me in his service, for that he was upon the point of going down to Alexandria, where he should

excavations about the Great Sphinx, and in the great necropolis that surrounds the pyramids, though prepared for the press, have never been given to the public. Both the mitre, that had been placed upon the head, (for which the socket was always visible,) and the beard that was fitted on below the chin, were found when the sand and rubbish were removed. And here I may add, by the way, that instances of a female sphinx are so uncommon in Egypt, that I myself never saw one there (though they may possibly exist, as one represented in low relief certainly does at Turin); it may be doubted, therefore, whether the term ανδροσφιγξ be to be translated human sphinx, in opposition to Κριοσφιγξ, and other animal combinations, or whether it may not really refer rather to the sex represented.

need, as well as at the places to be touched at by the way, some person of more activity, as well as of more experienced in the habits of the country, and requisites for a journey, than any of his present attendants.

To this I was far from raising any objection; and as I considered the permission of my superior, the Bey, to be very necessary, I went, without loss of time, to request it: but, notwithstanding all that I could say, met with a refusal; and Mr. Salt's own application afterwards, sent through his dragoman, had no better success.

It was quite plain that an official person would not involve himself in a dispute upon my account; and, indeed, had it been otherwise, there would have been something like ingratitude in attempting to

withdraw myself from the Bey, without his consent; therefore, though a little mortified at his denial, I was content to remain under his orders.

But, about four months after, he happening to die, I felt that I had now a full right to be master of my own movements; I therefore set off immediately, and joined Mr. Salt, who fortunately had not found in the interval any one to fill the situation which he destined for me, and to which he assigned a handsome salary as long as I should hold it.

A commission was very soon given me from the consulate to set out for Upper Egypt, where I was to find the secretary, Mr. Beechey, who had been established at Thebes some time; some supplies that he stood in need of were consigned to me,

and I was to remain with him, and act as his Janissary.

I sailed thither with all expedition, but heard at Thebes that he was gone forward to the Cataract, which induced me to hurry onwards as fast as I could; and falling in with Yanni, his Greek servant and interpreter, at Esne, joined him, and went on in his company till, upon the island of Philæ we found not only Mr. Beechey, but with him Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni, and the two English captains, Irby and Mangles, of the Royal Navy, all (excepting the lady, who was to remain at Philæ) on the point of proceeding upwards into Nubia, with the design of opening, if possible, the great temple at Abousombal, about which Mr. Salt's curiosity was so much excited by the accounts sent down to him, that he

was willing to bear all the expense of the undertaking, and had sent up suitable presents to conciliate the authorities of the country.

A boat * had been hired for the whole party, with a crew of four Nubian sailors, and three boys; and as we ascended the river, we touched, in passing, at most of the principal ruins. At Derr an obliging and respectful message was sent to Daoud, and Haleel, Kâshiefs (princes of the country), with reference to the proposed operations at the temple, intimation of which had been given to them, and their consent and co-operation obtained upon conditions, by

* They sailed on the 16th of June, 1817, Belzoni—who makes the crew consist of five men; but Captains Irby and Mangles, in their letters to their friends, agree with the author.

Belzoni in a former journey *, not long after that in which I had myself accompanied Mr. Bankes. They were, it seems, to share the half of all treasure in gold or silver that should be found there, and had engaged to furnish for hire as many hands as should be wanting to the work.

We passed Abousombal, however, and went on to the second Cataract; but on our return from thence, about a week or ten days after, our labours and difficulties and contentions began, for we were involved in a perpetual succession of them from the very outset.

The first jealousies that we had to encounter were between the two Kashief brothers, Daoud and Haleel, who perceiving that two guns presented to them were of

* September 15, 1816.

unequal value, had, or pretended to have, great disputes, and Haleel the younger was very little content at receiving the inferior gift, which was naturally that which had fallen to his share.

However, the promise of an abundant supply of labourers, at a stipulated rate of daily wages, was renewed, and some pains even seemed to be taken to collect them; insomuch that, during the first days, we had as many as about fifty and upwards, and once or twice almost a hundred working together; but they were irregular and idle, and often, whether from their own disposition, or a hint from their superiors, dissatisfied and refractory to the highest degree, till very soon, with few exceptions, we lost their assistance altogether when the season of Ramadan commenced.

Another early obstacle was the unexpected appearance of two rival (though inferior) Kashiefs, residing above Derr, near Ibrîm, who were at war with the others, and claimed an equal right to be propitiated by a present. Their application was as much disregarded as their prohibition and menaces afterwards; yet it is possible that much both of the defalcation in numbers, and ill humour of the people towards us, may have been owing to their influence.

Whatever inconvenience or impediments, however, were experienced from the heart-burnings and greediness of the chiefs, or from the chicanery and extortion and insolence of those sent to assist us, (who much oftener impeded us by disputes, and sometimes even openly threatened to deter us

from proceeding,) yet no drawback or hinderance was equal to that which we found in the conduct of our own crew, who were always in league with the worst of them, and became their ringleaders and advisers; and although, when left to ourselves, they sometimes sullenly aided us for pay, they were much oftener engaged even then in thwarting and annoying us.

If, however, I may presume to do so, I cannot help imputing also some little blame to the temper in which the work was conducted, since an over-punctiliousness upon little matters, which were not worth disputing about, and a determination to bind those strictly to the letter of their bargains, whom a very trifling present beyond it might have satisfied, led to almost all the difficulties and ill blood that occurred; as

I took the liberty to represent more than once at the time, and which was fully justified afterwards on the very same spot, when Mr. Bankes and Mr. Salt, in clearing one of the great colossal statues quite down to the feet, had larger numbers in regular employ, and removed sand to a much greater depth, without encountering obstacles of that nature.

It must, nevertheless, be confessed, that the Nubians are, like the Arabs, a very greedy race, and disposed to take every advantage of a stranger.

If our travellers neglected the means of attracting and conciliating the natives to their operations, they proved at least that they knew admirably well how to make shift without them; for, no sooner was all external assistance withdrawn, than with a

zeal and spirit, and a perseverance not to be exceeded, they undertook, at that hot season, and with a very scanty provision of necessaries, themselves to complete the labour; and, accordingly, the whole party, without exception, consisting of Mr. Belzoni, Mr. Beechey, Captains Irby and Mangles, Yanni, the Greek, an Arab cook belonging to them, and myself, continued working, day after day, in the sand with our hands, from sunrise till after dark, relieving each other in turn every four hours, and stripping to the skin for the exertion.

Some of the number, I am convinced, and especially the two captains, did each the work of ten Nubians in their own persons.

I incidentally alluded to the scantiness of

our sustenance during all this toil, and such in truth it was: for one of the expedients resorted to for driving us to desist, or forcing us to terms, was to starve us out of the place, and in consequence little or nothing was brought thither for sale; it was very rare that we had any meat during all our stay, and no milk or butter latterly, so that we were frequently reduced to a meal or two of dourra corn boiled in water, with occasionally a glass of date-brandy after it, procured in the country previous to our misunderstandings, or presented by the Kashiefs of Derr, who still kept up a show of friendship.

In my former journey I spoke of the condition in which the great temple of Abousombal then appeared; it is, in fact, the whole face of a vast rock cut down,

and shaped into architecture, of which no more than the cornice and upper members of the front, and the bust only of one out of four colossal figures attached to it, emerged from the sand, which, in the course of ages, had flowed down from the higher level of the desert, and had buried all the remainder, sloping from thence in an inclined plane quite down to the water's edge, very white and loose, and, during the daytime, heated to an intense degree by the sun.

The position of the door, if there were any, (for even that was uncertain,) might be guessed at from observing the centre, which was very sufficiently marked; but the total depth of the drift that had poured down could hardly be calculated, from the proportions, at less than from fifty to sixty

feet, and so much of it at the least must be removed as should enable us to clear the upper part of the opening.

We availed ourselves of such implements and contrivances as seemed adapted to facilitate the labour, and so soon as some appearances of the great architrave of a portal came to light, trunks of the palm-tree were driven down as piles, at the distance of two or three yards from it, which bore the loose mass from behind, and enabled us to scoop out a sort of well in front of them, which we consolidated, from time to time, by the pouring in of water.

After a continuance of these exertions and expedients during upwards of three weeks, a corner of the doorway itself at last became visible.

At that very moment, while fresh clamours and new disputes were going on with our crew, and the attention of all distracted, I, being one of the slenderest of the party, without a word, said, crept through into the interior, and was thus the first that entered it, perhaps, for a thousand years *.

Unlike all the other grottoes in Egypt and Nubia, its atmosphere, instead of presenting a refreshing coolness, was a hot and moist vapour, not unlike that of a Turkish bath, and so penetrating, that paper, carried within, soon became as much saturated with wet as if it had been dropped into the river. It was, however, a consoling, and almost an unexpected circumstance, that the run of sand extended

* August 1, 1817.—*Belzoni.*

but a very little way within the aperture, and the remainder of the chambers were all unencumbered.

With this favourable intelligence I came out again, still creeping flat upon my face, and assisted the rest in extending the orifice.

My first stay within had been very short, both for the want of a light, and from the fear of fainting, or being stifled in that strange atmosphere. But it was not long before we had all gained a somewhat easier admittance, and each being provided with a candle, were enabled to form a definite conception of the internal structure and details.

The great hall, on entering, is, perhaps, about thirty feet high, and has eight colossal statues, standing four on a side, in

lieu of columns, that seem to bear the ceiling upon their heads. We found in it two detached figures of lions with faces of birds, which were dragged out for the purpose of transmitting them to Mr. Salt, with a few other loose pieces of statuary, met with here and there in this and the other chambers, some of which, to the right and left, were less finely painted than the principal one, and seemed to have been sepulchral.

Within the first there is a second hall, and then a sort of narrow vestibule, all opening in a right line to the holy of holies, in which an altar is still standing in front of four sitting deities, that are quite entire in every limb and feature, and with every colour remaining unimpaired upon

them, but all worked, as well as the whole temple itself, out of the solid rock.

The floor of all the apartments was covered over with a very black and fine dust, which, observing its resemblance to the remains of decayed lintels in most of the doorways, was conjectured to be pulverized wood.

The joint labours of taking plans and measurements, and some views, as well as sketches from historical subjects upon the walls within side, drawn by Mr. Beechey, occupied several days, after which we proceeded upon our return, and touched at most of those antiquities that have been mentioned in a former chapter, on this portion of the Nile.

At Kalapshé, however, a quarrel with

the natives prevented all researches, for they stood armed in great numbers in front of the temple *, and demanded each a present as the price of admittance; and, when we began to open a sort of treaty with them, and to attempt to bring them to reason, they grew so insolent and provoking, that I could no longer command my temper; and from menaces and high words some of them were actually proceeding to a degree of violence, that would have obliged me to use my fire-arms in my defence, had not the timely interference of Belzoni and the captains rescued me, and brought me back to the boat; and even after we had gained it, we were pur-

* An account of this fray will be found in Belzoni, p. 217; and it is mentioned also by Captains Irby and Mangles in their letters.

sued by shouting and stones from the shore, to which we replied by a shot fired over their heads.

On another day, Captain Irby was very badly cut in the hand, by seizing the knife, which one of our own crew was aiming at him during a warm dispute; in consequence of which we set the man on shore, and suffered him no more to come amongst us, till he arrived for his pay at Philæ.

The Nubian boat, however, was not dismissed until, in pursuance of a separate bargain made for that special enterprise, it had conveyed our party down the Cataract to Assouan, after a stay of about four days among the ruins on the island.

There was nothing at all dangerous in that passage, though the scenery is rocky

and savage most part of the way, and the rushing of the water in some places considerable *.

Another embarkation, in a different boat, brought us all down to Thebes, with the addition to our company of Mrs. Belzoni, and an Irish lad, James Curtin †, who acted as her servant, where we settled ourselves, first in the temple of Luxor, afterwards at Gournou, and still later in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.

Excavations and researches were almost immediately resumed upon Mr. Salt's account, under the direction of his secretary, Mr. Beechey, and of Mr. Belzoni; and I found that some curious discoveries had

* Belzoni, p. 218.

† This young man died afterwards in London.

been already made by them previous to their departure for the upper country, and especially in what seem to have been the principal private sepulchres of the city. But the rivalry of the French consul, Drovetti, in the same pursuit and speculation, had become very inconvenient, and soon led to violent and continued altercations between the adherents of the two factions; so that all the site of ancient Thebes was, subsequently, either by the direction or the tacit consent of the government, (administered at that time in Upper Egypt by the Defterdar Bey,) portioned out and allotted into two great divisions, as French and English ground, each party being only entitled to dig within his own limits, and only authorized to appropriate what should be found there;

an expedient which, however, very imperfectly allayed their jealousies and contentions.

After a stay of but a few days, the two naval captains took their leave, and went back to Cairo, all the rest continuing established at Thebes in these operations.

And it was not long afterwards that Mr. Belzoni, who had certainly much acuteness as well as perseverance, and had acquired a sort of intuitive knowledge of the probable site of ancient remains, brought to light that remarkable tomb in the Valley of the Kings, where was found the alabaster sarcophagus, since sent to England, and which I have seen in Mr. Soane's collection in London.

I inspected that tomb very shortly after it was first opened; it was as clean

throughout, and the colours as fresh, as if it had not been finished a week; and as it was highly desirable to maintain it so, a door was put up, of which the key was committed to a trusty person, near the spot, who admitted none without an order.

As for the representations contained in it, they were much less entertaining to me than those which are to be seen in some of the others near it that were well known, where there are scenes of manufacture and cookery, and music, and common life; whereas in this the pictures seem all, or mostly, to be mystical, and relating to matters which I cannot understand. Some of those other tombs also are more extensive, so that the pre-eminence of this was confined solely (putting the sarcophagus out of the account) to its

admirable state of preservation; but this did indeed give it so a great a superiority in point of effect, that nothing could appear more beautiful than the first descent into it, and especially when brilliantly illuminated, as it was subsequently, during the visit of Lord Belmore and his family.

In that same season there arrived from Cairo, three English gentlemen, who brought with them a letter from Mr. Salt, in which I was directed to accompany them into Nubia. Their names were Colonel Stratton, Captain Bennett, and Mr. Fuller.

It was of course my duty to comply; and when we reached the Cataract, I was ordered to get another boat in readiness for them beyond it. But this occupying a longer time than they had anticipated,

Captain Bennett laid the blame upon me, and proceeded to find so much fault, and to treat me with so much harshness of language, that I refused to go forward, and had quite determined not to have done so, had it not been for the urgent instances of the other two gentlemen, and their kind and obliging behaviour.

The boat that was at last engaged for them was the property of Daoud Kaschief, and in it I acted as their guide, for directing their attention to such points as had become familiar to me in my former journies.

At Derr, the travellers were, in the first moment, received with very friendly appearances by Daoud Kashief, and regaled with a repast prepared for them of fried eggs; but he did not long defer his inquiries as to what presents had

been brought for him, and persisted in a demand of both money and fire-arms. It was in vain that they denied having any in their possession; and the sight of the firman, and threats of complaining to the Pasha of Egypt, were quite as little attended to.

He was the owner of our boat, and peremptorily insisted that we should quit it on the spot, which would have left us in the utmost embarrassment, and whatever we had, at his mercy; we were obliged, therefore, to content ourselves with letting him make himself master, almost by force, of our sugar, coffee, and drinking cups, with which he was satisfied, in the absence of better commodities.*

* It will be seen by reference to "Norden's Travels," that he met with very similar usage at Derr.

From thence we set sail for Abousombal, which we examined unmolested; and again the day following for Wadi Halfa, but did not quite reach it; partly on account of the wind, which became adverse, and partly because we knew that the father of our extorting prince was residing there, who might possibly have revived some discussion about the boat, and have behaved no better towards us than his son.

We turned, therefore, and landing wherever it was desirable, retraced our course to Thebes, where Lord Belmore's family arrived just about the same time, and also Mr. Salt, who gave me immediate notice of a fresh destination. For he had very lately received a letter, in which Mr. Bankes announced to him his return into Asia, and requested that I

should be put on my way, without loss of time, to join him at Acre.

Mr. Belzoni, who was still at Thebes, hearing this, expressed a strong wish that his lady should take the opportunity of accompanying me to Syria, (she being desirous of visiting Jerusalem,) and promised that she should be ready accordingly to join me at Cairo; whither I was now bound directly with the Colonel and his two companions, and where I parted from them but a few days after, they pursuing their way to Alexandria, having testified their satisfaction in my services, both in a written paper which they left with me, and by a liberal reward.

Preparatory to my Syrian journey, an instrument bearing the Pasha's signature was consigned to me by the dragoman of the consulate, the purport of which was

to authorize Mr. Bankes in removing that curious Egyptian stone which I mentioned as existing at El Arish, and there serving as a water-trough.

Mrs. Belzoni and the Irish servant-lad Curtin now joined me, both wearing the dress of Mameluke youths, which they had recently assumed, and we proceeded in company to Damietta, where Soroor, a native who acted as British vice-consul there, received and lodged us with great hospitality. But, although a passage to Jaffa was engaged immediately, the wind remained so steadily fixed in an adverse quarter, that we were detained in his house a whole month, and afterwards many days on board, before we could sail *.

* Mrs. Belzoni says, in what she calls her "trifling account," that her detention on board was no less than a whole month.

I never could quit Egypt without feelings of some regret, so much do I find in it that makes me prefer it to most other countries; but still I felt great impatience at this delay, and an earnest desire to be once more attached to the master, who, both while I was with him, and since his departure, had always proved himself a kind friend to me.

After the unlooked for delay which I have mentioned, the weather became all at once fair for our departure, and continued tolerably so during the voyage, so that we anchored within a very few days in the port of Jaffa *.

* March 9, 1818.

CHAPTER V.

Jerusalem—Greek Easter—Ill-treatment of the Latins—Excavation in the Tomb of the Kings there—Journey to Petra—Hebron—Karack—Sheik Yusuff—Sheik Sahlem—Shobeck—Sheik Aïon Raschid—Disputes—Preparations for battle—Ruins of Petra—Tomb of Aaron—Return to Karack—Rabbath Moab—Carnaim—Dibon—Baal Meon—Medaïa—Heshbon—Palace of Hircanus—Assalt—Djerash-Bisan—Chorazin—Embark for Jaffa—Mr. Bankes's illness there—his Visit to Solomon's Temple.

So much time had been already lost, that, taking my leave of Mrs. Belzoni for the present, I seized the very first moment, on landing, to proceed to Acre; and there learned from Antonio, with more vexation than surprise, that his master's patience had been quite exhausted in expecting me, and that he had consequently engaged at Aleppo a Levantine interpreter, named

Contesini, whom he carried with him through the vale of Bekaa to Paneas and the source of the Jordan, and so all round the lakes both of Houlie and Tiberias; that from Damascus, also, he had made a second tour in the Hauran, more extensive and complete than that in which I accompanied him; and, having deposited all the plans and drawings in Antonio's hands, was gone up again, but a very few days before, to make another long and difficult journey in the country beyond Jordan; which it was calculated would terminate at Jerusalem. Antonio had the same orders for me as for himself—that we were not to move till sent for; so we remained there together, with the baggage, and I heard from him, with great interest, accounts of the many countries which he

had seen in turn since we parted, including all Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago and Adriatic, Constantinople and all Greece, with Albania and Roumelia, and even Maina.

The situation of Acre is pleasant, and there is abundance of almost everything to be found in the market, so that we were very well off during our stay there. At the end of about three weeks, word was brought that, owing to some disputes or treachery of the Arabs beyond Jordan, Mr. Bankes, with his companions, had been obliged to fly from Assalt, and to swim the river on their horses; but, after sleeping in a cave, had succeeded in getting safe through Samaria to Jerusalem, where we were directed to join him, two of his horses being sent over for the pur-

pose of conveying us. My meeting with him at the Catholic convent was a very joyful day to me; and I found there also in his company my two fellow-labourers at Abousambul, Captains Irby and Mangles, all Lord Belmore's family and suite, Mrs. Belzoni and her servant, and Mr. Legh, an English traveller, whom I had never before seen: so that perhaps there had seldom or never been at Jerusalem, at any one time, so large an assemblage of Europeans.

The festival of the Greek Easter, now close at hand, was the great attraction, and the number of pilgrims of that persuasion was unusually large. The crowd in the church of the holy sepulchre was prodigious on the day of the pretended miracle of the sacred fire, which took

place, as usual, amidst the most noisy and indecent scuffling that can be imagined, every one striving who should first get his own taper lighted; and thus the little flames are seen spreading all over the church almost in an instant, and brandished about and twinkling in all directions, which has a singular and surprising effect. A very few mornings after, all this great multitude, still further increased by pilgrims of other sects, Copts, Armenians, and Abyssinians, proceeded to the Jordan, not less in number than about five thousand, escorted by the Turkish governor and a strong guard: There were men, women, and children, mounted—some two, some three, on the same beast of burden, horse, ass, or camel; and a still larger proportion of both sexes went

creeping along on foot: so that the straggling procession stretched to a vast length in the narrow defiles on the road to Jericho, near which some pitched their tents in the plain, and some made shift to lie among the bushes for that night, but others hurried to the water immediately; for, taking lights with us, and going down to the river's edge before dawn, we found it already crowded with persons of both sexes, bathing or filling their bottles there, or cutting down branches to take home with them as relics.

I, with the European party, passed on from thence to the Dead Sea, where the water is of a most nauseous quality to the taste, and most uncomfortable to the eyes and skin. We verified, however, that strange property imputed to it, of sup

porting bodies that will not swim elsewhere, for I myself saw Mr. Bankes, whom I know to be ignorant of that art, floating without effort upon its surface; and observed also, as remarkable, that scarce any part of the limbs is bedded in the water, but the whole seem to rest upon it as on a solid plane.

The Greek devotees did not quit Jerusalem till they had had a very serious affray with the Catholic friars, within the very walls that contain the sepulchre; one of whom, bearing a high office in our convent, returned thither so beaten by them on the head, that he was bled immediately, and in our presence. He was an old man, and, being a Maltese, thought that he had some claim on English protection. The gentlemen accordingly (finding that he had

not been in fault) took up his cause, but could get no redress at all from the governor, who seemed to be better paid by the other party. The Society, therefore, had determined to abandon and lock up their convent, as well as their chapel in the holy sepulchre, and to retire elsewhere till they should be better protected; but our travellers dissuaded them from this step, promising to transmit strong representations on the subject to Constantinople and elsewhere, which conduced, several months later, to the displacing of that governor by the Pasha of Damascus.

In my first account of Jerusalem, in a former chapter, I think that I mentioned the large excavation, a little without the walls, which is called the Tomb of the Kings. It was the more familiar to me,

since I assisted Mr. Bankes in taking measurements for the plan which he made of it during his first journey. It was upon his turning to this, many months afterwards (for the conjecture had not struck him, at least so strongly, on the spot), that he deduced a strong presumption of the existence of other entrances and more chambers besides those which are known; and he had determined on a search, should he ever revisit it. His reasons for this supposition had now so much weight with his countrymen, that all took an interest in it; and I was directed to apply to the Aga for a permission to excavate, but this was refused or evaded. After which, the travellers resolved to take the task upon themselves; but this was done with great secrecy, some going as far as to the valley

of St. John to purchase a few spades and baskets, and all dropping separately out at the different gates about nightfall, in order to meet afterwards at the tomb, where a lantern also had been provided, and a water-skin.

When assembled, there were—Captain Corry, Mr. Legh, Captains Irby and Mangles, and Mr. Bankes; and three or four attendants assisting and bearing part in the toil, as well as myself. It was singular enough that three out of our number should have been among the excavators of Abousambul; but the present was a very different kind of labour, almost the whole mass to be removed consisting of stones, of larger and smaller size, some heavy, and all very rough, so that our nails were soon worn down to the quick: however,

by relieving each other at stated intervals, we worked through the whole night, and before daybreak had cleared out a hole much more in depth than the height of the tallest man; but, though it seemed probable that we must be near the supposed opening, a great stone interposed, and we could proceed no further.

No person had detected us during the operation, though so near a populous city, and we had had the good fortune to find a supply of water almost close by, in an ancient reservoir.

Next day, stealing quietly back in the afternoon, some of us heated a pile of charcoal upon the great stone, and throwing on it first vinegar and then water in quantities from the neighbouring tank, succeeded in cracking it all to pieces.

But before night, by some means, the rumours of what was going on had got abroad, and the governor, it was said, had given orders for filling up the place: what was yet more unlucky, the party was dispersed that evening, and could not be got together in sufficient strength to complete the task, much to the vexation of some who were ready and very anxious to resume it, which certainly was then still in our power. And I am even doubtful whether we should have been actually prevented afterwards, for it was not put fairly to the proof, though much was said about it. I have always, therefore, regretted that no further attempt was made, feeling quite convinced that some aperture existed very little below the level at which we left off, and so I believe is every one in his

own mind who took part in the undertaking.

What however called off the attention of us all at this time was the prospect and arrangements of a new journey, which had long been the principal object of Mr. Bankes's wishes, and was indeed the occasion of his return into Syria. To penetrate to the ruins of Petra was the main design, but he also entertained great hope of discovering somewhere by the way the palace of a Jewish prince (Hircanus), which he had read of, and a fortified temple (called Carnaim), and the tomb and town of King Herod: two former attempts had failed; and it was now arranged that both Mr. Legh, and the two sea captains, and their servants, should join us in the expedition.

The Pasha of Damascus and the governors both of Jerusalem and of Jaffa had been applied to in turn, but had declined making themselves at all responsible, nor would the Porte insert the name of Wady Moosa in the firman. We were reduced therefore to seek out simply for a guide, and sent accordingly for the Bedoueen Mahomet Daheidy, the same whose son Mr. Bankes had formerly liberated from prison. He came at our call, and, since it was proposed to go first to Hebron, an inhabitant of that town was also engaged in our company, which now (with these two added and the servants) consisted of eleven persons, all on horseback, and all clothed nearly alike in the common Arab dress; to accord with which also the Englishmen assumed Mahometan names; my master's was Haleel.

We took Bethlehem in our way, and the Frank mountain, famous, it seems, in the crusades; next the Labyrinth (as it is called), which appears a natural cavern, but winding, and of some extent; and last, the ruins of Tekoa, before arriving at Hebron, which is rather a large place, and the country about it prettier than that about Jerusalem.

I went into a mosque there, and threw a paper down into a hole that is considered to be the tomb of Abraham, and according as the paper lodges by the way, or reaches the bottom, it is looked upon as a sign of good or ill luck for the future. The building itself is originally a church of the time of the Frank kings, not at all altered, but stands within another that serves as a sort of inclosure to it, built of very vast stones, and in so remarkable a

style, that I hardly saw Mr. Bankes take so great an interest in any other piece of architecture during our tour.

The governor was surprised at our coming, but very civil, and at first proposed of himself to put us upon our way; but this appeared subsequently to have been only a trap for presents, since he ended in refusing all assistance and dissuading us from the journey.

We had therefore undertaken it alone (with the aid of the compass, for even Mahomet Daheidy soon left us), and had advanced a little, when a Jew of the town, bringing a Bedouëen guide with him, was sent after by the governor to bargain with us. The sum demanded was paid, and the guide accepted, but he would undertake to carry us no farther than Karack; and

though we found plenty of his tribe when we stopped with him that night at his camp, no number that we proposed, nor offer that we could make, would tempt them to escort us to Wady Moosa, so great did they represent the dangers of that country to be; but two or three more of them joined us for Karack.

We passed here and there some insignificant ruins, and went down a very steep and rough descent into the plain of the Ghaur, beyond the southern end of the Dead Sea: all the ground there is quite barren and thickly incrusted with salt, and we even saw great solid blocks of it lying here and there, like stones, under the cliff; a part also was marshy, and it would appear that the water stretches much farther at some seasons than at others.

We slept in that dismal flat; and the next morning, after crossing it, got a breakfast of butter mixed with a sort of sweet fruit produced there called Nebbe *, among some wild people, whom we found living in reed huts, and cultivating a few little fields on the bank of a rivulet, which discharges itself close by; they are called Gauarnies, and wear an odd kind of leathern apron; they seemed very jealous of our seeing their women, but otherwise not ill disposed to us.

A sort of thicket incloses their little settlement, and just beyond it, almost coasting the Dead Sea, the travellers were continually alighting to pick up lumps of red granite and porphyry, and other marbles

* Ali Bey writes it nebbak, and compares it to the jujube (ii. 110); it grows near Mecca.

of extreme hardness, that were lying scattered about in a native state, but with no rocks of the same nature discernible from whence they could have fallen.

We crossed, I think, another little stream, where were some palms; and afterwards continued ascending, more or less, all the way, till after many hours, and much toil, we got sight at last of some signs of cultivation, and of the dilapidated castle of Karack, closing the end of a steep rocky defile, in which, somewhat lower down, we had met an armed party that wanted to stop us, but proceeded to no violence.

Our entrance into Karack was through an archway that is only faced with masonry, for it is cut through a ridge standing up of the live rock, and we found

within that the old Saracen fortification of walls and towers incloses a much larger area than what the present houses occupy, which are also mean in themselves, flat roofed, and of only one story, very different in this last respect from those at Hebron, which are remarkably lofty. The mosque is quite as much in ruins as an old Christian church or chapel, where there are, however, some remains of paintings. The population is at this day almost equally divided between the two religions, living together apparently in perfect harmony, and the women of both appear more in sight, and are less veiled than is usual. We were kindly treated here from the first, but never had any bread with our meals, nor any substitute for it, a mode of eating to which we could so little get

accustomed, that we would much rather have dispensed with the mutton and butter, which were brought in abundance; and this singular want attended us afterwards through almost all our journey, the people beyond the Dead Sea, whether in towns or tents, seeming to feed altogether without it, especially when any meat is provided.

The venerable old Sheik of the place, Yusuff Majellie, conciliated the respect and esteem of all the strangers from his very first appearance, by the simplicity of his character and plain dealing; it was soon arranged with him that, for a stipulated sum, he should himself take charge of us to Wady Moosa, as the extreme point southwards, and, on the return, should see us safe in the other direction as far as Assalt. He warned us also before-

hand that a payment or two might probably be required of us to other Sheiks by the way.

Notwithstanding his grey beard, he had married a very young wife only the day before, and was absent with her at the tents of his new father-in-law, when we arrived, yet quitted her on the third morning, that he might shew us the rites of hospitality at his house, and was now (very contrary to the usual dilatory habit of the East) ready to set out with us immediately.

As we quitted Karack, we found that its old fortress makes the best figure upon the south side, and soon entering upon an upland pasture country, saw many ancient ruined villages, and passed the tomb of Abon Taleb, held in great devotion by Musselmen.

We were received and fed at the tents of a powerful Bedoueen, called Sheik Sahlem, who insisted on a high tribute for his safe conduct, which, after much altercation, was paid him, with some abatement, and his son added to our escort for the rest of the journey. Most of the women at that camp had their faces scratched and bloody, in token of lamentation for a death that had just happened. A ruin near it was considered Roman, but highly curious, having somewhat the air of a palace, with two tiers of ornamented windows, of which the upper were circular, and pilasters between; it is called Deit Ras.

We afterwards crossed a very steep ravine, in which flows a stream called El Husseyn, and observed some extinct volcanoes, very evident here and there near

the road side, which is paved with the lava for a long way together, and in a perfect state, and has Roman mile-stones still standing upon it in many places.

Expectations had been raised of finding remains of some interest at Gharandel, but were not fulfilled, they being very mean, though rather extensive, with a small brook running through them.

Beyond this, while we were eating in some tents, an alarm was suddenly raised that some of the flocks had been carried off by a marauding tribe, and our hosts flew immediately to arms. The case must be one of frequent occurrence, for the same happened that very evening where we slept; and even the men of Karack had themselves driven off and appropriated a large herd of oxen from the Druse-moun-

tain in the Hauran, as we found upon our return, by a reclamation made in our hearing against Sheik Yusuff, who, though admitting the fact, could never be induced to restore more than half the number taken.

It was towards the close of the fourth day from Karack, that we reached, by short and easy journies, the castle (or rather fortified town) of Shobeck; which crowns an abrupt insulated hill that swells out of the valley like a huge mound: fig orchards and gardens slope down the sides, and here and there little fragments of ruin shew that the population has once extended beyond the fortress; which seems to be of Saracen work, but yet incloses the remnant of a Christian church of the time of the Crusades.

The inhabitants expressed great alarm from the walls on the first sight of our party, and collected there, shouting at us, and rolling down stones; but so soon as they recognized who were our conductors, their gate, which had been closed, was set open to us, and nothing could exceed their hospitality and kindness. We passed the night amongst them and fared well with respect to every thing, except that usual deficiency, of no bread being offered to us.

We quitted them early the next morning, in quest of their powerful and popular Sheik, Mahommed Abou Raschid, whom we had not yet seen, but found residing under tents, at some distance, though still within the confines of his territory. He was a young man, about thirty, with a

very spirited and intelligent air, and his manners as prepossessing as his appearance; he became from thenceforward the hero of our expedition, and without him we never could have attained our object. The first act which we saw him engaged in was one of just retribution, for a merchant (whom we had previously met at Hebron) was reclaiming several bales of goods pilfered or detained from him in the camp, and the cause was heard and the effects restored in our presence, which at once raised a high opinion both of his authority and his honour. He seemed a man of few words, and soon told us that, since he and his people sometimes frequented Cairo, the recommendations that we had with us from Mahomet Ali had great weight with him, and that, if it were

but out of respect to that Pasha, without other inducement, he would freely take it upon himself to escort us.

It was well for us that he had made this promise before he had any conference with Abou Zeitoon, the sheik of Wady Moosa, who happened to be encamped very near, and was in communication with him immediately after, holding a very opposite language, and concluding at last with an oath, "by the beard of the Prophet, and the honour of his women," that we should neither enter his district, nor taste of the water there.

All his followers took the same part, and, after a loud and angry dispute, withdrew at once from our tents, where they had been seated, and sprung on their horses.

Our venerable guide-in-chief, Sheik Yusuff, took alarm for us, and dissuaded all further efforts; but Abou Raschid at the same moment snatching his own lance, and making signal that all should mount, exclaimed, "It is I that have put them upon their horses, let us see who will stop Abou Raschid!"—and with that he led the way forwards, swearing at the same time his oath, "by the honour of his women," that we should drink at the fountain Wady Moosa, and go wherever he should please to carry us.

The Sheiks Yussuff and young Sahlem shook their heads, and remained where they were; nay, even his own people more than once endeavoured to induce him to desist, and we can ascribe his determination to nothing else than a regard for his

word, and a high chivalrous spirit, for he had neither made any bargain with the travellers, nor received any promise.

The march of the two adverse parties at the same time out of the camp was rather a singular spectacle, for, though quite separated, they continued long moving parallel, and in sight of each other, ours following a gradual descent in a hollow, and the men of Wady Moosa moving upon a steep ridge to our left hand.

As we got lower down, near a spring, a multitude of people, subjects of Shobeck, some on foot, and some mounted, but all armed, and some dromedaries, with two riders upon each, joined us as a reinforcement; and not long afterwards our mountain pass at length opened, not to a valley, but a high table land, from whence the

prospect was almost boundless, with the great purple peaks of Mount Hor, and the tomb of Aaron on its top, directly in front, though still distant; neater to us there were green fields, and cultivation, and even patches of trees, but upon every side beyond these the landscape was closed by a desart.

Our lodging for the night was still within the confines of our Sheik, in a camp of about seventy tents, pitched in several circles, from whence, in our advance on the morrow, we actually passed over the ground where some of the adverse party had been sleeping, as was indicated to us by marks of their fires and tent-cords, for all had withdrawn.

Not far beyond this, we reached a camp belonging to an independent, but very

friendly tribe, in which only a momentary halt had been intended, but which, from the posture of affairs, became the head-quarters till the third morning. Its position was interesting, for we could see from it not only Aaron's tomb, and a small peep at the ruins and excavations in the valley below, but even the mean little village of Wady Moosa itself, and could distinguish clearly that the inhabitants had withdrawn from it, with their flocks and cattle, to an eminence which commanded it, and also completely overlooked the descent from our side into the bottom: whence it was plain from the first that our passage would be disputed, and we heard that even a sort of barricade had been thrown up round the water. Here, then, was opened a scene of negociation and

discord, which lasted through four whole days without intermission, during the two last of which it was found necessary to fall back again upon our seventy tents, since such great numbers as were with us became burthensome, even to Bedoueen hospitality.

Sometimes there came spies in the camp, sometimes messengers, and sometimes whole deputations of the enemy, quite filling the tent, in order to reason and remonstrate with our chief; the European strangers, though the cause of all, taking very little part, and being very little consulted in the matter: so that we sat by, and not only heard ourselves, on the one side, made the object of very groundless imputations, (particularly of the intention, much insisted upon, of poisoning the water,) but also upon

the other, of commendations not less absurd and mistaken as to our country, and religion, and the nature of our errand; which last must really have been as incomprehensible to Abou Raschid himself, as to any of his opponents, who at times would proceed in their language to strong and direct menaces, and at others would pass in armed parties almost close before us, refusing to alight, or to eat with any.

Matters only seemed to become worse, instead of mending, and the patience and temper of Abou Raschid being quite exhausted, he began to call his forces about him in good earnest; who were now flocking in continually, and our two Sheiks, old Yusuff and young Sahlem, who had staid in the rear ever since our gallant protector had "taken us upon his head," as he

termed it, were sent for, to witness or take part in what might happen. They were escorted with large numbers to our camp in the forenoon, and their arrival greeted with shrill cries of Lé! lé! lé! from the women, who repeated the same animated congratulation to every reinforcement that arrived; no man who did not bring arms being suffered to remain, or to fare with the rest. Most of those thus collected were on foot, and had matchlocks, but many also were mounted and dressed like the Bedoueens, carrying lances. Between both sorts there cannot have been less than about three hundred assembled; of whom each entered separately at his first coming to salute the chief, and was familiarly received by him with a kiss like an equal.

The two Sheiks, his guests, to avoid pre-

cedence, had entered the circle of tents by different openings at the same instant, and were welcomed by him with great cordiality and honours. But when the old man resumed his dissuasive tone, and his counsels of moderation, illustrated with long stories of his early life, he was listened to with impatience, and could not even obtain that the question about the water should be waived, (since we ourselves made no point of it,) and the mere sight of the ruins insisted upon. "No—the honour of Abou-Raschid was engaged, and we should all bathe in the fountain if we thought proper!" Nay, there must have been something almost contagious in so much firmness, for old Yusuff was heard at last to say softly, "And what if I, too, should bring up my men of Karack?"

In these extremities there appeared at length quite a new personage as a mediator; it was a blind Sheik, named Hindy, commanding a numerous and powerful tribe, not much predisposed to favour the suspected infidels, and poisorers, and searchers after treasure, but still desirous of peace between his neighbours. At his suggestion, therefore, (though rather as a pretext than a real precaution,) some men of Damascus, who happened to be at Wady Moosa, in their return from Mecca, were deputed from thence to look over our papers; and, though these were in Turkish, which not one of them could read, they were pronounced satisfactory, and lifted to their foreheads accordingly with all due respect.

Early the following morning a long cavalcade was seen approaching, and soon

filled all the area of our camp, with the blind peace-maker and Abou-Zeitoon at their head, announcing that the passage was now free to us, and inviting us to a visit of reconciliation, which was neither accepted nor declined by our chief, who desired us to mount and go forward, which we did, with his retainers following, not inferior to the others in number; and the two parties moving together down the hill, became hardly distinguishable, though Abou-Zeitoon and his people took care to lead the way.

We had received a hint, however, that whatever we might see the rest do, we must not turn to the right or the left, but persevere straight on, down the direct descent; and accordingly when the men of Wady Moosa turned off at the branch-

way which leads to their village, we no longer followed in their footsteps, and by this simple, and to them unexpected, manœuvre, made it impossible for them to obstruct our passage or dictate to us, since we were now ahead of them in the only horse track to the disputed fountain and the ruins, the general face of the ground being impracticable from its steepness. Altercations and remonstrances followed upon this, and the rival chiefs separated at last with coldness, if not with incivility. We could even subsequently discern that we were closely watched all that day and the next, from that camp above the village which commanded the valley. The first words uttered afterwards were the contemptuous exclamation of Abou-Raschid: "See there the water about which there has been so much wrangling! Drink in it

—wash in it—bathe in it!" We tasted it only, and rode on, winding till we found ourselves at last in the bottom, where the region of the tombs begins at the foot of the precipice.

Like those of Egypt, they are all cut out in the live rock, but are yet the very opposite of them in one respect, for the decoration and extent are here all bestowed on the outside, and the interior is rude and diminutive, while in Egypt there is often externally no more than a simple doorway to be seen, though within there is chamber after chamber, all one more finished and ornamented than another, so that there can be no just point of comparison, unless indeed it should be to the great temples at Abousambul, to which these tombs seem inferior, if not in scale, at least in point of majesty of effect. Some have no

more than a front, and some stand forward detached all round; the number altogether is prodigious, and the effect very strange, especially from the strong orange and purple tints of the sandstone itself. For a full mile there is no other passage excepting through a cleft, not more than three or four yards wide, of which the sides are sometimes perpendicular and sometimes overhanging, to the height of four or five hundred feet, which terrific pass was the scene of a robbery and massacre the year before, in which a whole company of merchant-pilgrims returning from Mecca for Western Africa were the victims, some of whose goods were here and there offered us for sale in our return, but who were the actual perpetrators seemed to be uncertain.

About half way through, there is a

single spot, abrupt and precipitous as the rest, where the area of this natural chasm spreads a little, and sweeps into an irregular circle; this was chosen for the situation of the most elaborate, if not the most extensive of all the architectural monuments, which, from a large vase (furnished as it should seem originally with handles of metal) placed upon its summit, and supposed by the natives to be filled with coin, is called the treasure-house of Pharaoh. Bullets seem to have been fired at the vase in great numbers, but quite without effect, and it stands at such a height, and in such a position, that perhaps even avarice and curiosity have never succeeded in climbling to it, being as inaccessible from above, by the rude overhanging of the rock, as from below by the smoothness of the wrought surface; for, with columns,

and rich friezes, and pediments, and large figures of horses and men, the front rises to several lofty stories, and the surprising effect is heightened by the position, and the strangeness of the approach. The detail is so minute and so well preserved, that Mr. Bankes's drawing of this front alone was the work of many hours, the rest waiting patiently in the meantime in a tuft of oleanders that grows before it.

Immediately beyond, the ravine closes and contracts again to its former limits, and expands no more till it opens at once on the ruins of the city, which may rather be said to stand in a hollow of a mountain than either in a valley or a plain. A small stream that ran through it was arched over; one large pile of masonry is standing, and here and there a few columns, but all the rest was excavation; for there were

houses gained out of the rocks, as well as a theatre, and an immense display of tombs all round, which (if indeed some might not be temples) form the most striking object even from the very centre of the old city, many rising to a vast height, like our Italian churches, with ranges of pillars and ornaments one above the other, but the majority restricted to a much simpler form, peculiar to the place, terminating with flights of steps on the top as a battlement. On one of these last is a long inscription in some strange character, which it was a great labour to my master to copy.

The base of Mount Hor rises in the very midst of this scene of antiquities, but the ascent is so steep and toilsome that I declined it, though all the rest persevered to the top, where they found Aaron's tomb to be in the custody of a solitary Sheik,

and could discern from thence another rich architectural frontispiece in a new direction. They were absent about two hours and a half, and brought down the transcript of an inscription in Hebrew. With this, at the close of the second day, terminated the toil and amusement of our rambles among those remains, which I cannot help considering curious beyond all others, if their situation and the scenery which surrounds them be taken into account.

Abou-Raschid himself, thinking that there would be risk in further delay, discouraged all hope of a return on the morrow, and, just as he withdrew, some Bedoueens met us, who, seizing our bridles, carried us almost by force to their tents, in order to lodge and regale us.

After passing the night with them, we

returned the next day to our well known camp of the seventy tents, where we rejoined Yusuff and Sahlem, who were patiently waiting for us, to whose care and conduct we were now again consigned by Abou-Raschid, who here took his leave, kissing every one in his turn, and receiving the thanks, and presents, and expressions of admiration and esteem which he well deserved, and the parting seemed to be one of regret upon all sides. He consigned however his iron mace (the symbol of his authority) to our party, so far as Shobeck, that we might be received there as though he himself were with us.

Beyond Shobeck we slept one night in a poor looking village that stands handsomely on a high jut of land, and afterwards passed in sight of some others. The weather was cold, and we took plea-

sure in bathing in a natural hot spring to which we were conducted in a hollow, and passed the last night before our return to Karack in the tents of old Yusuff's father-in-law. Our safe return to Karack was celebrated by the slaughter of three kids drawn up in a row, upon which we afterwards feasted. There was great despair and lamentation in the house on account of the illness of a young woman of the Sheik's family, which was considered to be dangerous, and almost past cure; none of the gentlemen had anything to prescribe, but being teased to say something, and seeing her much exhausted, I recommended some chicken broth, and she recovered.

During the halt at Karack, the travellers again visited the Dead Sea, and searched the shore minutely for the signs or remains

of any living creature produced in those waters, but could find nothing else but the bodies of innumerable locusts that have perished in them, and snail-shells brought down by the rivers. They picked up on the shore also large lumps of salt and of sulphur.

The first point in our journey from Karack to the northward (towards Assalt) was Rabbah, the ruins of a moderate town with a small temple or two; but not very far from it is a much larger building, very strong and with some ornament, called Beit el Karm*, which Mr. Bankes thought to be one of the objects that he was in search of. On one spot we found a detachment of the Christians of Karack encamped, giving a proof of their state of

* There is, I think, great reason to suppose this to be the Temple at Carnaim, mentioned in the Maccabees.

security and independence here, which I never saw elsewhere in the East.

The descent and passage across Wady Mojib is excessively steep, though the stream itself is inconsiderable. An old Roman arch still strides across it, that was once a bridge, and there is a highway with milestones. A ruined place called Diban* is just beyond, and another further on called Mayn†, near which are a number of great rude slabs of stone, set together like so many boxes, four standing edgeways for the sides, and one laid flat on the top, with no other sign of art about them whatever except their posture, for they never seem to have been wrought at all with any tool. The number of them is very considerable, and we saw two or three

* Dibon of Scripture. † Baal Mœon of Scripture.

such afterwards, not far from Djerash*. From this point we turned down into a very romantic ravine, that opens to the Dead Sea: the water that flows in it is excessively hot, and the rocks full of sulphur. Rubbish and tiles show that the place was once inhabited, and some ancient copper coins were picked up, quite corroded.

Returning to our route near Medaba, (which is another ancient place, and has an immense reservoir lined with stone,) a difficulty presented itself, for the Beny-sackr Arabs were encamped there in such numbers that there were not less than two hundred tents, and their chief Ibn Fays happened to be the very person whose

* They resemble exactly some of the Druidical remains in this country, especially what is called Kits Cotty house, in Kent.

extortions and bad faith had driven Mr. Bankes to escape from him by flight across the Jordan in a former journey. Old Yusuff, without being aware of this, was of himself sufficiently unwilling to trust us amongst them, but as it was much wished to see Medaba and Heshbon, the fact was studiously concealed from him, and we entered the camp, where the young chief stepped forward, and recognising Mr. Bankes (who had made him considerable presents) with a great show of kindness, held his stirrup as he alighted, and received him with a kiss. He had strangers with him from Damascus, and feasted his guests so plentifully, that the wooden dish out of which we all fed had four iron handles to it, and required three persons to lift it and set it before us. Afterwards, a great earthen pan of grease was lighted as a lamp

for the company, and Ibn Fays himself, and his brother, sung a sort of slow plaintive ballad to an instrument with one string, the purport of which was the tragic account of a battle against a neighbouring tribe, in which their own father perished.

The territory of Heshbon* was occupied by the Benysackr, as well as Medaba*, and here Ibn Fays renewed his old attempts at extortion with all the other travellers, making an exception in Mr. Bankes's favour, whom he treated with some consideration, and allowed him to ramble in the ruins, which, however, are of no great interest. Disappointment was felt also in those of Oomarasass, of which we had heard much; an armed Arab there stole

* Medaba and Heshbon retain their old Scripture names.

upon my master unawares as he was mounting, and, after cutting at him with his sword two or three times, contrived to snatch away his abba (cloak) from off the hinder part of his horse, and to run off with it. I was found fault with for not having fired at him, but had I killed him it might have been a very serious matter.

Between Heshbon and Assalt stands Arrag el Emir (the Prince's ruin) the most remarkable object that we saw since Patra, and the very first sight of which filled my master with great delight, he exclaiming at once, that it was the principal object of his search; the position is high, but there is a still higher ridge of rock standing round it; it is built of vast blocks of hewn stone, and had the figures of immense four-footed animals carved all round the top, like a frieze; and in the face of the live rock

all along are doorways opening into great chambers, and into ranges of stabling for horses, and camels, with all the cribs and mangers cut out of the solid. There is also one single line inscribed in large Hebrew characters*.

Assalt is rather a considerable town, with an old Saracen castle like Shobeck and Karack, the inhabitants half Christian, and half Mahomedan.

We visited from thence the great ruins at Amman†, which stand upon a fine clear stream of water; there is a noble theatre there, and another smaller close by it.

Before we reached the river Zarka, old

* This is unquestionably the palace, built beyond Jordan, by Hircanus, prince of the Jews, that is particularly described by Josephus.

† Capital of the Ammonites, subsequently called Philadelphia.

Yusuff took a very fatherly leave of us, and returned for Karack, we still going forwards till we paid yet another visit to the columns and temples of Djerash, from whence, turning down by a village called Rajib, we came to the ford upon the Jordan opposite to Bisan, and crossed it, re-visiting that theatre there, which (though apparently so ruinous) Mr. Bankes seemed, from something in its construction, always to prefer to all others that he met with*. The immediate neighbourhood must have been the scene of some foul transaction, for a number of human bodies had been huddled into one of its arched passages, and

* It is, perhaps, the most interesting of any that is extant, from distinctly exhibiting the position of the sounding-vases, as described by Vitruvius, which he himself admits to have been no where to be seen in Italy, and the very existence of which has been called into question by some of the later translators and illustrators of his work.

we had seen a like ghastly depository at Heshbon.

The journey beyond Jordan and the Dead Sea had occupied just six weeks, in which a good deal was suffered in privation and disgust with respect to food, and much more from the vermin, which swarm both in tents and houses, and which it is impossible to be free from. However, the point had been accomplished, and by Tiberias and Nazereth we returned to the coast at Acre, where Mr. Legh and the captains left us for Constantinople.

Mr. Bankes took his rest and recreation for some days, in short walks or rides about Mount Carmel, and afterwards wishing to make some further researches in Galilee, turned back again once more to the head of the lake of Tiberias, where at the upper end of a rocky valley stands the town

of Safet, on a high conical hill. Some remains of the crusaders were found there, and a few miles beyond it, in a retired spot, are some obscure ruins, called Kerahzy*, which, as it happened, became the limit of our journey, for, without any previous symptoms that we perceived, Mr. Bankes's horse had gone suddenly blind in the course of that day, which quite unfitting him for scrambling in a broken country, we hastened once more to Acre, and, finding no vessel there bound for Egypt, immediately embarked for Jaffa.

It was now the fruit season, and the gardens of Jaffa bring almost every sort to perfection, so that Mr. Bankes, who passed his first afternoons in them, could not abstain, especially from the water-melons

* I conjecture this to have been Chorazin, denounced in the Gospel. Matt. xi.

and the mulberries, the consequence of which was that he brought on a violent fever, and was soon in great danger, and often delirious.

No good advice was upon the spot, and the symptoms alarmed me so much, that the fourth or fifth day I set off with all possible speed for Jerusalem, and brought back with me, on another horse, during the night, the medical brother of the Latin convent, a Spaniard of some skill, who repaid by his promptitude and attentions the obligations of his fraternity to the English; for to their interference it was ascribed that the obnoxious governor had just now been deposed. The disorder, however, though abating, still continued during four or five weeks, and reduced the patient to a state of the utmost debility.

Meantime, Abou Nabbout the governor

of Jaffa*, who was his friend, sent frequent messages of inquiry to the Consul's, and even suspended the firing of the gun that was customary in the fortress, since it was so near as to prove a disturbance. When at last a change of air, and particularly of water, was talked of, he offered his tents at any spot that should be chosen, but the convent of Ramah was preferred, (for which it seems Mr. Bankes had his secret reasons,) and all that was accepted was a horse-litter, in which he passed, covered up, out of the gate, the doctor having been sent forward some hours before.

* His real name was Mahomet Bey, but from his measures of severity towards the lower orders he went universally by the name of Abou Nabbout, or father of stick. Though no pasha, his power in Syria was superior to some of those invested with that honour; he was, however, banished by the Porte, in 1819, and took refuge for a time in Egypt, which Mengin mentions, vol. ii. p. 149.

I suspected a little, but was not apprized of the motive of these arrangements, Mr. Bankes not liking at all to be questioned, and still less when long illness had rendered his temper irritable.

To some days previous to this departure for Ramah, emaciated and reduced as he was, he sat up in his bed, and, after commending my care of him, asked if a handsome new Albanian dress could be bought in the bazar; I replied that it could, and as I always wore one, naturally conceived that it was intended for myself, so I brought one, and when asked if I had tried it on, replied that it fitted me, upon which I was ordered to change it, and look out for one that would suit a taller person, of my master's own height. I did so, and nothing more was said concerning it, but it was carried with us to Ramah, where,

within a day or two I remarked that he became very anxious to dispense with the doctor's presence, and to send him back to Jerusalem, a hint which the good man was at first very unwilling to take; but his patient, who was now well, *did* indeed recover strength surprisingly, and so, after many injunctions of rest and quiet, was left alone, as he desired to be, one single monk only remaining in the charge of the convent. No sooner was he thus freed from medical interference, than Mr. Bankes ordered that two hired mules should be got ready for Jerusalem about nightfall, specifying that he would not have a Christian conductor for them, but a Turk.

After supper he shaved off all his beard, retaining only the hair upon the upper lip, and then calling for the Albanian suit, put it all on, with pistols in his belt, and a

scarlet cap upon his head. It was the first and only time that I ever saw him in that garb, and from the alteration which illness had made in him, added to the loss of a bushy beard over and above, I feel confident that I should not have recognized him anywhere. Without direct inquiry on my part, or explanation upon his, we took the road to Jerusalem; the new governor was expected there from day to day, so that nothing could be more natural than that two soldiers should be on their way with the intention of enlisting in his service; a pretext of which I availed myself when, very late in the night, we reached the valley of Abougosh, where there is a military guard stationed at all times to receive toll from the Christians. Some of this detachment were themselves Albanians, who, running out, and shouting to us to stop, insisted on

my taking coffee with them, which I consented to, while Mr. Bankes bound up his face in a handkerchief and rode on, charging me to represent that he was suffering from a dreadful toothache, which accounted for his silence and inattention, and saved all investigation.

It was just dawn when we reached the western gate of the Holy City, which was not yet opened; so we alighted, and ordering the guide to stay there with the mules upon some pretext, went round the walls outside, till we came to St. Stephen's gate, which is the nearest to the Temple of Solomon. As we sat waiting there, Mr. Bankes disclosed to me that the sight of that forbidden temple was his object, and pressed me that I should go in with him, using as an argument, that since there was no chance at all that the keepers of the mosque would

understand Albanian; and no necessity that an Albanian should speak either Turkish or Arabic (at least with any tolerable accent); the risk of detection, especially when a change in the government filled the city with strangers, must be very small, the soldiery, with whom alone it might be dangerous to be confronted, being but little frequenters of mosques, and at worst the device of the toothache might be resorted to. The penalty of the unauthorized entry of *that* mosque by a Christian, is death, and the same to the Mussulman who shall connive at it.

All night I had felt a strong misgiving that the journey was tending to this point, and had performed it with very mixed feelings, and a heavy heart; nay, I doubt whether if the case had been fairly put to me earlier, I should have gone forward at

all, but this at least I can say more positively, that for no other human being in the world would I have done it. For let it not be set down to vanity or detraction, when I say, that though the scheme was Mr. Bankes's own, still, when I have heard his courage extolled for it, I have always felt that I deserved a share at least equal, since, without an equal temptation, (having before entered the temple with other Mahommedans, and being myself free to do so when I pleased,) I yet ran, in fact, a far greater risk of life than he did, whom, as a British subject, and a man of substance, they might have threatened, and extorted from, but could hardly have dared to go much further, so that I should have been made the example, who was amenable to their laws, and conversant in their religion and customs.

Fortunately there was no time for discussion or wavering, and if not done at once, the feat could not be done at all. St. Stephen's gate opened, my master went in, and I followed, after which I walked side by side with him into the great area of the temple, a noble square, with cypress trees here and there, and a great octagonal platform on steps in the centre, on which stands the edifice itself, the work of the Kaliph Omar. It is covered by a dome, and incrusted on all sides with porcelain glazed and coloured, fitted together into the most ingenious and beautiful patterns. On four corresponding sides of it are four brazen doors.

We had admired this noble exterior together in silence for some time, when we saw a person wearing a green turban who had the key, and who, as he unlocked one

of the doors, asked if we wished to have the interior shown to us for devotion.

I stepped forwards, and, assenting to this, engaged him in conversation (in Arabic) that he might not remark on my companion's silence, nor ask him any questions. As we entered, however, seeing him disposed to satisfy his curiosity in that way, I boldly ventured to warn him that to a man fresh, as my comrade was, from Scutari, no language but Arnaout could serve, which checked him so effectually, that he took scarce any further notice of him from that time, and I found that I had not hazarded at all too much.

Eight * solid pillars correspond to the

* Ali Bey, in his second volume, gives a detailed description of this building (called El Sahhara), as well as of the whole inclosure containing it (called El Haram), with plans and sections, which are certainly very accu-

eight internal angles of the temple, and serve, with sixteen marble columns disposed between them, to support the dome, and to inclose a space within them, where a huge mass of rock stands up from the marble pavement, quite rough, and is commonly said to hang in the air unsupported*, but rests, in fact, partly on two or three very small pillars placed under it, and is partly also still attached to the ground. We were shown also in the pavement itself what are called the gates of Hell and of Paradise †, and the place where the skull of

rate as to the general disposition and principal points, though not entirely so in the lesser details.

* I much question whether the common, but exploded tale about the tomb of Mahomet may not have arisen from a confusion with the spot and superstition here described, for no such opinion seems to prevail with the Mahometans at Medina.

† Ali Bey speaks of this in his description.

Adam was found, and where Cain killed Abel; while the great rude rock in the midst passes by tradition for that on which the angel sat who stopped the plague in the days of King David*. At every one of these several sacred spots we both knelt, and offered a few paras. When all had been seen and examined, nothing would satisfy Mr. Bankes, but that he must have the customary certificate of his pilgrimage; we were, therefore, shown by our verger to the foot of a little narrow staircase near the door, and he following in no further, Mr. Bankes thought it a good precaution to bind up his face again as he ascended; and it is perhaps well that he did, for in a little room over the porch we found four Ulemas squatted in a row, who motioned to

* Ali Bey gives a different legend for the rock.

us that we should sit down, and then served us with coffee, which my comrade with the bandaged face touched only with his lips, I speaking for him, and describing his sufferings. A long Arabic writing was then drawn up for each of us, with an enumeration of the holy stations that we had just visited, and was signed and sealed in due form.

On the delivery of the instrument there was an unforeseen risk of detection, for it is customary to place it out of respect on the crown of the head. Mr. Bankes's hair was fullgrown under his cap, which, had that been lifted off, must at once have betrayed him, so, representing the inconvenience of disturbing the bandage, I placed both the certificates respectfully side by side on my own shaven scalp.

My heart bounded within me when we got clear out of the sacred octagon, and the more, since many of the town were now coming into it to pay their devotions.

My companion, however, persisted still in lingering within the great inclosure, and before he quitted it, visited also the mosque of the Purification* (then under repair), formerly a church built by the Frank kings, which Mrs. Belzoni seemed to have confounded with the Temple of Solomon itself, though it only opens to the square.

The tomb of David, on Mount Sion, is also prohibited ground; and without this the exploit was considered to be incomplete; it became, therefore, our next point,

* Called Aksa. Ali Bey gives a full description of it, vol. ii. p. 216, and sections, Pl. lxxi. lxxii. which I do not think are correct in the details of the architecture.

and we entered there and offered our paras. But Mr. Bankes, thinking soon after that he had not observed something with sufficient accuracy, had the imprudence to return with me, much against my wishes, a second time.

In the mean while the muleteer, whom we had left outside, had strayed in quest of us to that very spot, and had said enough to the keeper of the place to excite his suspicions and rouse his fanaticism, so that we found all discovered, and ourselves in imminent danger.

It was lucky that we were without the walls and well armed, and the concourse not yet collected in sufficient numbers to lay hands on us. We got instantly on the mules, and, in spite of all remonstrances of our conductor, rode to the desert

of St. John, where we lay that night in the handsome convent there, feeing the muleteer, and concealing from the solitary monk there what had happened.

A long ride next day brought us back first to Ramah, and before night to Jaffa, where our adventure was known to the Turks, all over the town next day, and it was not thought safe for either of us to appear in the streets.

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage to Egypt—El Arish—Cyprus—Damietta—Cairo—Thebes—Mummies—Obelisk—The Author's marriage—Opening of the Temple at Sebouah—Another excavation at Abousombal—Journey above the Second Cataract—Ababdes—Crossing of the Nile—Island of Say—Return—Mr. Bankes embarks for Europe—Sir F. Henniker—Oasis—ascends the Pyramid—Mr. Rennie—Accident—Sickness—The Author again with Mr. Salt.

It had become very necessary to fly the country as soon as possible, and a vessel was accordingly hired expressly for Damietta, with the condition of touching at El Arish, and there taking on board the Egyptian stone by the way.

Mr. Bankes's health and spirits were still occasionally weak from the effects of his illness, otherwise, I think that, after suc-

ceeding in enterprises much more arduous, he would hardly have abandoned this; the difficulties, however, attending it were unquestionably considerable, for the weight of the stone proved to be greater than had been calculated; and although, upon sight of the Pasha of Egypt's permission, no direct objection was raised by the Sheik to the taking of it, yet he appeared little disposed to forward or assist the operation, and represented (what was true enough) that the whole distance of transport to the shore was through a very deep and loose sand.

Measures, however, were actually taken for overcoming this impediment; but there was one much more serious, which it was not so easy to remedy, for, from the shallow and shelving nature of all that coast,

our vessel could not lie safely within two or three miles of it; and the only boat belonging to her was so small as to be pronounced, by the captain, upon sight of the stone, incapable of conveying it alongside. All the physical strength of a man is required for surmounting obstacles and devising expedients, and, above all, for bearing with the annoyance of noisy and obstinate altercations: our invalid was quite unequal to this, and finding that the indifferent water of El-Arish disagreed with him, and longing (as all do who have ever tasted it) for that of the Nile, he left his design unaccomplished, and ordered the pilot to make a straight course to Damietta.

This was persevered in for two days, and we had got almost into sight of that

mouth of the river, when there rose a strong contrary wind, which drove us to Cyprus, and detained us there two days in the port of Limasol.

That island was new to me, but was not so to Mr. Bankes. He seemed well amused, however, with revisiting the great sculptured vases that lie among the ruins of old Limasol *, on a hill not far from the town, and with a renewal of acquaintance with the Greek Archbishop residing at Baffo (Paphos).

A change of wind carried us safe to Egypt, to the place of our destination. We saw there the hide of a hippopotamus that had been killed in the immediate

* Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 300, calls the ruins those of 'Amathonte,' and places them a league east of Limasol: he describes the vases.

neighbourhood but a few days before, an event almost unexampled in the memory of man, below the cataract, for in all the lower parts of the river they are seldom seen or heard of.

I found myself once more under the hospitable roof of Soroor, the native Vice-Consul for the English, and our head quarters continued there, during two short excursions made from this branch, (which is in itself far inferior in beauty to that of Rosetta,) the first by Mansourah to the lake Menzaleh, and the other by Matarieh to San, where the fragments are lying of six great granite obelisks, and a very colossal sphinx of the same material *.

We suffered dreadfully here from a

* Mentioned by Mr. Hamilton, and the same, I believe, that has been since removed to Paris.

large sort of mosquito, which attacked us from the very instant that the sun was down, and tormented us to a degree that I have never experienced elsewhere in my life. There was very little to repay our trouble and suffering, so we were glad to quit these minor canals and return to the Nile; upon which, the great granite ruin at Baybait was the only object of interest that arrested us, in our way to Cairo. Here Mr. Salt welcomed and entertained his guest, who had perhaps in the end no reason to look upon a strong return of ophthalmia as any misfortune, since it obliged him to take that rest which was very necessary for recruiting his strength.

We remained stationary so long as the disorder continued, and indeed a more than usual degree of preparation and pro-

vision had become necessary, since Mr. Salt himself proposed to bear part in the voyage upwards, and a Prussian baron, said to be an eminent naturalist, had arrived in the mean time, and was anxious to be admitted of the company.

A large canjia with fourteen oars was engaged by the month for Mr. Bankes; a more roomy, but less manageable vessel, called a mash, for Mr. Salt; an inferior sort of boat for the baron, and a fourth for riding-asses, milch goats, sheep, fowls, and such conveniences as a journey made quite at leisure might admit of, and so large a number would require; for Mr. Bankes increased his suite very much during this last voyage, having engaged Dr. Ricci, a native of Sienna, both as physician and draughtsman, (who had been

employed a long while in copying hieroglyphics for Belzoni, in the tomb of which he was preparing the model,) and a young French midshipman, Monsieur Linant, who had offered himself also as assistant draughtsman and to take observations, besides some inferior attendants.

Before we had set out, the long expected news of the surrender of Dareia was announced by guns from the citadel, and celebrated by a show of fire-works on the river; but the arrival of the captive chief of the Wahabees was too long delayed to be witnessed by the travellers.

The progress up the Nile was very slow, for every quarry and every tomb in the ridge of the Mokattam was examined and explored. This led to some discoveries, and especially to that of the curious picture

which represents the removal of a colossus as large as those at Thebes, upon a sledge drawn by a multitude of men, and of a bas-relief, in which the same sledge is applied to the transport of an immense stone from the quarry, and drawn by oxen. There is another also of the mason himself at work with his mallet and chisel. The variety also is infinite of the domestic employments and processes of manufacture brought to light in the tombs at Benyhassan, by means of the ladders and quantity of candles with which we were provided.

At Thebes there was a very long pause. We found the secretary Mr. Beechey established there, residing in the vestibule of one of the tombs of the kings, not far from that discovered by Belzoni, who was also there himself, and was to join us, at Mr.

Bankes's request, so far as Philæ, that he might superintend the removal of the obelisk. Mr. Drovetti, the French ex-consul, was settled in another part of Thebes at that time, and made a great show of civility, but was thought to have taken secretly a very opposite part.

During our stay in that singular abode, I could observe that it was not without regret that the antiquaries could inure themselves at first to imitate the natives of all that district, in applying to common purposes the wooden fragments and morsels of antiquity that abound (especially the mummy cases*) as seats, and tables, and

* Sir F. Henniker, speaking of Thebes, says, "The plain is strewed with broken bones, the coffins are used for firewood, and the amomum or bitumen offends the nose wherever there is a fire. A mummy may be bought for five or ten shillings," &c. p. 138.

shelves, and even as fuel; it being quite impossible either to save or to carry such quantities away as are almost daily dragged from underground.

It happened one evening, as I was returning with Mr. Bankes homewards, behind the Memnonium, that we surprised three women very busy in lifting out mummies of bulls, from a sort of pit near the foot of the rock. They seemed little leased at being discovered; but after purchasing two of the bulls, we made them a small present, and descended by the pit into a long low chamber, without ornament, and rather rudely excavated, which was three parts full of embalmed bodies, laid one upon another like a stack; none of them were in cases, but only with linen coverings, of which, however, some

few were painted over in a coarse trellis pattern. The bull-mummies, and a few rams intermingled, stood on the top of the pile. It is not in the more splendid sort of mummies that the papyrus-rolls are most commonly found; and it was this circumstance that induced Mr. Bankes to make an immediate search, of which the result was so far remarkable that a papyrus-sheet was found on the breast of the very first body that was opened by him, and although we occupied ourselves afterwards for hours with the remainder, we could never discover a second; yet the corpse on which it was found had been drawn out from the heap quite at hazard, and proved to be a female, in which case these writings so much sought for are rarely met with. The feet in this instance were beautifully

preserved, and the toe-nails gilt with leaf-gold.

Not only Mr. Belzoni, but Mr. Beechey also, was added to our numbers upon re-embarking for Assouan, and Mr. Bankes, in his canjia, was towed from thence up the Cataract to Philæ, where he fixed again for some time, employing many hands in clearing the ground, both within and without the ruins, and in destroying the great masses of crude brick-work which had been built up against them. The laying-open of the pavement in one of the chambers of the principal temple discovered the secret entrance to some others, that were quite unknown before, but they are without ornament, and nothing was found in them. The removal was commenced also both of the granite obelisk and its pedestal.

Finding that we were not likely to go forwards for some time, and having a strong inclination to marry the daughter of a Berberin of some substance, settled in Assouan, I obtained the permission of Mr. Bankes, and, after having my curiosity and surprise a good deal excited, by some preliminary steps which are indispensable on such occasions in that country, but which it would not become me more plainly to allude to, I passed three or four weeks with my Nubian bride.

Meanwhile the obelisk had been brought on rollers to the water's edge, and a boat below to receive it; all hands were at work, and five minutes more would have sufficed to set it afloat; when all at once the temporary pier built for it gave way under the pressure, and the monument plunged endlong into the river almost out of sight.

Mr. Bankes said little, but was evidently disgusted by the accident, and set sail within a day or two afterwards, leaving me to witness Mr. Belzoni's further operations respecting it. These were certainly conducted with great skill, though not quite without injury, and the scene of its actual descent down the cataract (the passage being at that time narrower, and the fall more considerable, from the decrease of the Nile) was very striking, the great boat wheeling and swinging round, and half filling with water, while naked figures were crowding upon all the rocks, or wading or swimming between them, some shouting, and some pulling at the guide ropes, and the boat-owner throwing himself on the ground, scattering dust upon his head, and hiding his face.

The danger, if any, was but for a few seconds, the equilibrium was recovered, and the mass glided smoothly and majestically onwards with the stream.

I was the bearer, with all speed, of the joyful tidings to my master, whom I found at Kalapshé, but was sent down immediately afterwards to the banker, at Esné, for money to meet all these expenses, and the voyage was still pursued so leisurely, and the researches with so much care, that I found the party advanced but very little higher when I again rejoined them.

I have mentioned, that at Sebouah the body of the temple had almost disappeared in the sand, and that no entrance remained visible: the clearing of this was diligently undertaken and accomplished on the third or fourth day.

The usual Egyptian paintings were found in the interior, very well preserved, but the original sanctuary had served at some more recent period for a Christian chapel, for the name in Greek, and figure as large as life of St. Peter, were painted on the end-wall, and upon the square altar in front of this stood a row of little saucer-like lamps of clay, still ranged in their places, and with the ashes and remains of the wick still in them; the chalice of fine red earthenware was on the ground very little broken; in an inner chamber were some rotten boards and a mat thrown over them, perhaps the bed of the hermit or officiating priest, and in the floor of the same was a deep pit, the use of which was unascertainable, since, upon being cleared out, it led to no discovery. There were

very neat writings upon the walls with a pen, which seemed to be in Greek letters.

A much greater labour was achieved at Abousombal, which was no less than the uncovering of one of the four colossal sitting figures down to the very feet, for in that great excavation in which I had myself borne part with Belzoni and the captains, we had never laid any quite open even to the waist, the doorway in the centre being then our sole aim and object. For this new purpose, therefore, the number of men constantly employed was very great, and almost three weeks were devoted to it. When the work was finished, the effect was extremely striking, from the complete state of preservation in which every part of this enormous statue was found; and attendant figures, also larger than life,

were brought into view, one between the feet, and one at each extremity of the chair.

A few letters scratched on the surface of the legs had excited Mr. Bankes's curiosity so much from the antiquity which he was disposed to ascribe to their form, that, judging it likely that those legs which were nearer to the door would be likely to furnish fuller examples, he undertook to pursue the inquiry further; but for this purpose it was necessary so far to undo what had been done, that the sand was rolled down again on much of that lower half which had been uncovered, in order to lay bare what was wanting of the adjoining colossus, since we were too far removed from the Nile to get rid of the mass altogether, without a much greater expendi-

ture of time and labour. Within three or four days accordingly a large and long inscription * first began to make its appearance, and to show itself above the surface by degrees, yet it lay so deep and the position was so aukward for opening it, that it was a work both of difficulty and time and contrivance to obtain the last line, which was only at length brought about by consolidating the sand with immense quantities of water poured upon it. The discovery, however, which seemed to delight all concerned in it, was considered to be an ample recompense for the toil. So soon as that had been copied, it became its turn to be covered again, part of the sand run-

* The inscription relates to the King Psammeticus, and is certainly among the very earliest extant in the Greek language.

ning in directly upon becoming dry, and part being rolled down upon it in clearing the fourth colossal head, (which had never before emerged at all above the surface,) for the sake of making a general drawing of the whole: and the exterior was thus left greatly disencumbered for travellers who might come after, the level of the drift having been lowered many feet throughout its whole extent, where it encroaches upon the temple. As for the interior, that, during all the time of our stay, was lighted every day, and almost all day long, with from twenty to fifty small wax candles, fixed upon clusters of palm branches, which were attached to long upright poles, and, spreading like the arms of a chandelier, more than half way to the ceiling, enabled Mr. Bankes, and the other

draughtsmen, to copy all the paintings in detail, as they stood, almost naked, upon their ladders.

While the party was so busied both within and without, it happened that the Defterdar Bey, son-in-law of Mahomet Ali, and governor of the upper country, came up to investigate on the spot how far the second cataract was practicable for boats, preparatory to the expedition against Dongola and Sennaar, then secretly in contemplation. He stopped in passing, not only to pay his compliments, but even condescended to creep into the temple, where he was astonished to find so much light burning, and so many hands employed in such an atmosphere, for purposes which he could not comprehend, and which it was in vain to endeavour to explain to him, for he

always returned to the question of "What treasure have they found?"

The next great clearance of sand was still on the same bank of the river, in the district of Wady Halfa. The appearances seemed to me to promise very little, since all that was above the surface was scarce worth notice: many chambers however were brought to light that had never been seen before, some of brick, and some of stone, with columns here and there, and remains of painting throughout; in several of these, semicircular headed tablets, inscribed with hieroglyphics, were standing up against the walls, like tombstones. By searching still deeper, perhaps catacombs and mummy pits might be found there.

This undertaking at Wady Halfa had chiefly been resorted to as a pastime,

during a tedious negociation which was carrying on to induce the Kashief, now resident at that place, (as being more out of the Pasha's reach,) to furnish camels and an escort for Mr. Bankes and some of his companions, so far as Dongola, a journey which had long been determined upon.

But neither presents (which, however, were accepted) nor persuasion could prevail with him to make himself or his own people at all responsible; and the utmost that could be obtained from him at last, was a letter of recommendation to his son, and his good word to some Arabs of the Ababde tribe, that they should mount and conduct us as far as we pleased, at a daily rate of payment, our own personal risks resting mainly upon ourselves, but they

engaging upon their parts, also, to do their utmost to prevent them, and protect us.

The Ababdes are almost black in colour, but have not the negro features; they are profuse in the use of butter, oil, and fat, upon their bodies, and dress out in the same substances their long stiff hair into the shape of the most formal wigs, retaining always a wooden skewer or two sticking in it for the indulgence of scratching. Excepting about the loins, they wear for the most part no clothing, unless it be sometimes a coarse cloak; and the chief who accompanied us had a long blue shirt, by way of distinction. The little dagger-knife is buckled in its sheath on the left arm as with the Nubians, and they carry shields made of the hide of hippopotamus or giraffe, or crocodile, and one or more

spears; sometimes, also, a broad flat sword hangs upon the back betwixt the shoulders. They are considered rather a fierce race, and will greedily eat the liver and entrails of the sheep raw, of which we were eye-witnesses more than once in this expedition, when they begged those parts of us as a perquisite.

Mr. Salt took his leave and went downwards, carrying M. Linant with him as his companion, but all the rest got themselves ready for Dongola, and were bent even upon penetrating to Meroë. Their number was augmented by two additional persons quite at last, who were a Mr. Hyde (an English gentleman not previously known to Mr. Bankes) and his Greek servant. Ten strong camels were provided, and five or six of the Ababdes fol-

lowing on foot, whose shields were hung upon the sides of our saddles, and the Sheik of Wady Alpha attended the cavalcade, as a sort of volunteer, upon his ass. Our rate of going, it will easily be imagined, was very slow.

The extent of the second cataract is far more considerable than that of the first, so that we did not see the Nile with a free open course again during the three or four first days, but a perpetual succession of rocks, and islands, and rapids.

It was our habit to sleep in the open air as fatigue or night came upon us, for the villages (if they deserve the name) are poor and miserable, and the tract of cultivation hardly any where a hundred yards wide. One should think that it must have been a better country formerly,

for we saw many Christian churches, larger and smaller, built of brick, and found one very extensive and remarkable fortress of the same material, (with wood introduced, and remaining here and there as a bonding,) called Murgheezy, with a few fragments with hieroglyphics on them lying within it. But Semneh, the first point which we reached beyond the southern extremity of the Cataract, is a much finer example of an ancient fortified post. There is nothing at all like it in Egypt. The fortress itself is square, and of brick, resting upon stone foundations, but on the three land-sides (for the fourth is precipitous to the river) there is a broad dry trench carried all round, faced on both sides with granite, and beyond it a great slanted rampart of the same to the exterior. Upon the granite cliff towards the

Nile, a low and narrow covered way descends, which secured a safe access to the water. Within, upon the summit, is a very small temple, in the Egyptian manner, profusely and delicately sculptured, and a mutilated statue or two, and some finely wrought and polished tablets.

An ancient strong hold of similar construction stands directly opposite, across the Nile, which is very narrow at this point, and interrupted by a chain of rocks, which seem as if they might almost furnish footing for a bridge.

The country over which we rode is desert and dismal, but yet the eye is relieved sometimes by those dark-coloured conical mountains, which imitate Pyramids so perfectly in the distance, as not to be distinguishable from them, and which

abound in Nubia, and still more in all this upper country, and sometimes yet more agreeably by islands of beautiful form and character rising from the river itself, which, perhaps, throughout its whole course, does not present so fine a romantic landscape as that which opens in the descent from Dohly, where the rocky island of Shatter-endiffy starts up like a cone in the centre, with some tufted wood on its base, and morsels of ruin upon its summit.

We met two moderate-sized caravans from Dongola, bringing slaves and gum, of which the second was escorted by two mamelukes, with some rags of old finery still hanging about them: had any caravan overtaken us, or had we heard of any going upwards, we should have joined it.

On passing the confines of the district of Succote, our Ababdes took down their

shields and exhibited a sham fight to us, which they said was a custom on such occasions; and exacted a small present. But, on the ninth morning of our march, when we came opposite to Mograkki, they proposed a halt, to pasture their camels; and while we were all either reposing or bathing, they one by one quietly stole away from us, and leaping all at once on the backs of their animals, left us, without any previous dispute or a single word said upon the subject. Naked as I was, (for I was amongst the bathers,) I pursued them with my gun as long as my legs could carry me, and in my rage fired more than once at them as they trotted along.

Our dismay was great, for we were at least a hundred and fifty miles above the cataract, not one amongst us remaining

who could speak the language, and not a single hut in sight upon our bank of the river, with the incumbrance, moreover, of considerable baggage. Fortunately a small inhabited island was opposite; and since it became very necessary, under the circumstances, to cross over, we made signals the next morning to that effect, and were understood by the natives, one or two of whom also could communicate with us, as speaking Arabic. After exacting a cotton shawl from us in payment, they tied four trunks of the doum-tree together with cords, as a raft; blowing up our water-skins with air, and attaching them to its sides, sometimes one and sometimes two of us were placed upon it, with a portion of the baggage, and two of the natives, applying their hands to the raft, swam, and pushed it forwards by the action of their

feet. It was a very interesting sight, and a considerable crowd of these dark savages stood round or swam near to witness it; and since the current, owing to the island, is extremely strong, the raft dropped down so much in every passage, that between each it was necessary to be towed back again to a very great distance, so that the whole day was consumed in crossing; and though we landed in safety, it was not without much wetting—a matter that was almost indifferent to all the party, excepting Mr. Hyde, whose state of health was so extremely weak that it greatly added to our difficulties, and sometimes we hardly thought that we should have kept him alive.

We were well fed and kindly received upon that little island, especially by the women; but there were symptoms, from

the first, of a project for extorting, whenever the passage to the eastern bank should be proposed. This, therefore, we had fortunately anticipated, and so, drawing the raft on shore, guarded it with our fire-arms all night, and felt ourselves so much the more independent when we found that this second channel was not only much narrower, but much shallower and smoother also than the first; so that, keeping always possession of the raft, we were enabled to make pretty good terms, and passed over easily.

Here, however, we still were without a single animal to transport us! Our best hope was in that letter with which we were furnished by the Nubian Kashief at Wady Halfa to his son, who resided in this upper country; and on landing near the little village of Mograkki, we were much com-

forted to hear that he was to be found in the very next above us, which is called Amafra, at the distance of four or five miles. We were, however, unable to go forward at once, having no means of conveying our effects, or of leaving them in safety. I was therefore deputed with the letter; and as we had been led to promise ourselves every attention from this young prince of the country, I was directed to beg of him that he would send and fetch the whole party from Mograkki. I found him feasting on lamb and butter, with his attendants, in a large oblong-square hovel, built of reed, among some palm-trees not far from his village. Some smaller cabins of the same sort stood round, which were mostly for the women; and there were a few camels, horses, and asses, standing in front. His establishment was on this spot

for the celebration of his wedding, which had taken place that day or the day before. Whether this or other reasons influenced him I cannot tell, but he received me and my message very coldly, and never offered the slightest assistance as to conveyance.

I returned with these ill news, and found that in the mean time a native, who had formerly been servant in Cairo, had found out the travellers and shown them kindness; and that they had also become friends with a sort of pedlar, who was selling for grain small pieces, ready cut out, of coarse linen and cotton not more than a foot square, and thread, and nails, and other wares of like value among these barbarous people.

It was agreed that the pedlar should lend his ass, and our other new friend find a second for us for hire, as far as Amarra,

which might suffice for our load; and that as for ourselves we could all make our way on foot. This was sufficiently fatiguing, as being all a deep sand; but none seemed to suffer much in the march excepting poor Mr. Hyde, who was very feeble.

In this manner, hot and weary, and creeping along like so many beggars, we reached the temporary residence of the Kashief. In the sight of his people he was shamed into some sort of hospitality, and there was no stint of provisions during the three days that we remained as his guests, nor indeed any absolute want of personal civility. During the night-time, however, we were more disturbed than regaled by very noisy and dissonant music from some of the cabins.

Some spirits were among Mr. Hyde's portion of the baggage, and of this our

host partook openly and freely, and without scruple, as long as it lasted, which sometimes was the means of bringing him into great good humour; and Mr. Bankes, who still would not abandon his favourite object of proceeding much further, did his utmost to avail himself of such happy moments in bringing forward both arguments and large offers in order to accomplish it.

But the young Prince could never be brought to do more than to offer camels for our return to Wady Halfa, since even the very next islanders were, he said, his enemies, and it would be worse than madness to trust either us or his animals with the mamelukes at Dongola.

This island at enmity (on account, we were told, of a robbery of camels) was Say, which lies but a few miles higher up in the

river, Mr. Bankes had caught sight of a small sail in that direction, (the first seen since the Cataract,) and was bent on throwing himself on board, and so making his way onwards by water, if possible. With this view, but dissembling his intention, he made a great point with the Kashief that we should be permitted to look at least at the island of Say from the bank, to which very great objections were raised; but when he found that it had been determined to go that far alone, if he would not send any person with us, he thought it best to accept a payment that was offered, and deputed three of his retinue to attend us on horseback, we making our way thither on foot.

Say is a long island, and has a sort of brick castle in ruins on its highest point. It was attempted to restrain us from going

too near, though a broad reach of the river lay between; yet curiosity, and the hope of getting sight of the boat, prevailed and we lingered all day along the shore; but in the evening, no boat appearing, nor any person of whom we could ask a question, we were to obliged to retrace our steps in disappointment.

The Kashief had, I believe, become heartily sick of a party, whose motions and views were so little intelligible to him; and when, in despair, we acquiesced in the project of return, he retracted his promise, and refused us his camels.

Indignant at this, we prepared for immediate departure. No guide for the return was requisite, since the course of the river would be sufficient to direct us: and we lightened our luggage by presenting to the kind pedlar and our other friend not

only many trifles that had been brought for the Kashief, but also all that was not absolutely necessary by the way; so that the burthen became no more than what the poor pedlar's ass could carry, which, since we could get no other, he cheerfully agreed to lend us, on condition that we should leave it for him at Wady Halfa with the elder Kashief.

But when all the rest were prepared to start, it was found, and Dr. Ricci pronounced it, quite impossible, that Mr. Hyde could have strength to walk the journey; therefore, with considerable delay and difficulty a single hired camel was found for him, which served also to furnish now and then an occasional ride to one or other of our number, perched up behind.

In this manner did we undertake that journey, and never was there one perhaps

performed more cheerfully and more merrily throughout; for the country is too thinly peopled, and we were ourselves too strong to feel any apprehensions; and though so long a march, through sand for the most part, was very toilsome, yet our little shifts and adventures served to beguile the way, for necessity drove us to lead a sort of banditti life, in availing ourselves of all chances to get mounted for the day; so that if any animals which we met unladen were refused to us on hire, we used to seize them by force, and, making the owners follow, endeavour to content them at night by a payment or a present. One or two who were treated thus were induced to continue; so that by little and little, as we approached our journey's end, five or six animals had been collected, and we had opportunities of riding by turns.

We were already within about two days of Wady Halfa, when all at once we recognized the Ababde chief of those who had thrown us into all our difficulties, coming towards us upon his camel in a narrow defile, from which there was no escape: he had either thought to pass unobserved, or was not so quick in the recognition as ourselves.

Such of our number as were then mounted sprung from their saddles, those on foot forgot all their weariness, and ran up, and the unconscious drivers of the beasts that we had waylaid stood in stupid astonishment to see the great Ababde surrounded in an instant, and dragged by the leg to the ground, where he lay at the mercy of all, and was most severely drubbed with whatsoever came first to hand,—

even the sick man, Mr. Hyde, sliding off from his tall beast, to take his full share in this administration of summary justice.

Some were for seizing the camel and forcing the culprit to come back with us; but in that case we feared that he might escape from us in the night, and knew that his powerful tribe was not far off. It seemed best, therefore, to release him with his bruises, and let him go his way, which he did at a very brisk trot, never having uttered one single word during all the time, and so disappeared from us; but it did us all great good to think that we had had our revenge.

The Defterdar Bey's visit and inquiries at the cataract had probably alarmed the old Kashief, for we found him removed considerably higher up than Wady Halfa, to a temporary building of reeds, of the

same nature as that in which we had left his son, whose unfriendly conduct to us he pretended to reprobate in strong terms, and made much of us during our short halt with him, feasting us with milk and mutton, and entertaining us with the loud music of kettle-drums.

¶ From thence we were sent back to our boats, all mounted, and with the honour of an escort; and though it was matter of regret that the journey should have fallen so far short of what had been intended, yet, if the actual circumstances of that time and the Defterdar's mission be considered, it is perhaps very fortunate that it terminated as it did; for it certainly would have been a most rash act to have thrown ourselves into the hands of the mamelukes, at a moment when the invasion of their ter-

ritory was obviously in contemplation, and began to be publicly talked of; which, indeed, was carried into effect not very long afterwards.

In this long scramble upon the eastern bank, we had met with no other ancient remains in the Egyptian style, excepting eight or nine pillars at Amarra, and a very diminutive temple opposite to Semneh, within a fortification somewhat similar to that which I described there, but smaller. There are a great many Christian ruins, and, in one or two places, little artificial hills of soil thrown up, like barrows.

The excavations in the district of Wady Halfa had been carried on in our absence by Antonio da Costa, and more chambers and small monuments discovered there. Our stay was short, and from thence we began to drop down the Nile.

It was now for the first time that at Maharraka Mr. Bankes intimated his project of removing from thence the great granite platform of steps*, that he might apply them as a base to his obelisk; the execution of which was afterwards confided to Monsieur Linant. In this return, also, rather a curious discovery was made. At Philæ, and in some other places, (as Kalapshé, and at a temple near Esné,) Mr. Bankes observed, that by placing himself in a side light, he could trace the indication of letters cut in the surface of the stone under the stucco†, which induced him to

* This platform consists of four blocks only of red granite, and had served, without doubt, as the base to some obelisk now destroyed (the same number of steps supporting the pedestal of those at Alexandria, as I saw upon excavation). The heaviest block weighs nearly eleven tons, and was not removed till 1822, nor brought to England till 1829, when nineteen horses were required to drag it to its position at Kingston Hall.

† It will be recollected, that it is the same contrivance

scrape this away, and to bring out the inscriptions, which proved to be Greek; and I remember that, during all our voyage, there was a German artist who followed us at about a day's distance all the way, and used to make the natives point out to him whatever our draughtsmen had copied, and so with little trouble got the benefit of all the labour and expense that had been bestowed, which some of us were so provoked at, that we were desirous of covering up the writings again, or defacing them, but Mr. Bankes would never permit it.

At Thebes, he was successful in detaching the stucco from one of the most interesting and best preserved of the lesser

which the architect Sostratus resorted to upon the Pharos at Alexandria, where the humidity of the climate was probably instrumental in bringing it so soon to light, and so fatally for its author. Some of the inscriptions spoken of in the text as thus discovered, were as late as the reign of Commodus.

tombs, so as to be enabled to send several groups to England, and especially a large one of musicians, with harps and other instruments, as fresh as when first painted*. But nothing that he found seemed to give him more pleasure, or to excite more interest, than the wall of a building which he brought to light in digging for several days at El Araba Medfoun. He did not attempt the removal of it, for it is built of several stones, but took a complete copy of all the sculpture upon it†.

We rejoined Mr. Salt at Cairo, after an

* This group is mentioned by Belzoni, and is additionally remarkable for having been painted in the reign of one of the earliest sovereigns of that dynasty, whose succession is given on the tablet of Abydos—his name and effigy being represented several times in the paintings of this tomb.

† This is the tablet of Abydos just above referred to, of which I permitted my copy to be published as the frontispiece to Mr. Salt's little work on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics.

absence from thence of many months, and found in his house there, Nathaniel Pearce, just arrived from Abyssinia, with his wife of that country, Turinga, and a female slave. His conversation was so interesting to Mr. Bankes, that I think it induced him to remain longer than he would otherwise have done. After a time, however, he took his leave of me and of the East, and sailed from Alexandria in a Greek vessel for Trieste.

To Dr. Ricci it was left in charge to make accurate and detailed drawings of every figure to be found in the grottoes at Benyhassan, and all elsewhere that are illustrative of the private life and occupations of the ancient Egyptians, a task which, I know not for what reason, was never performed.

To Monsieur Linant an ample salary

was assigned for the purpose of visiting the Oasis of Siwah, and there copying all hieroglyphics and inscriptions; with a charge also of ascertaining particularly whether there is a triple inclosure about the ruin*; which journey was performed, though not so soon as it might have been, and he was to set out immediately afterwards upon the search for Meroë, with every instruction furnished to him as a guide. Of that expedition, since I accompanied him, I shall give an account in my next chapter.

The only commission left with me, was to see to the removal of the Greek pedestal belonging to the obelisk, from the spot where it had been left by Belzoni; to Alex-

*This triple inclosure proves to be very distinctly marked, and puts it past a doubt, that the ruin at Siwah, first visited by Browne, is really the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon.

andria. Had I been left at Assouan for the purpose, or sent back thither at once from Cairo, I might doubtless have succeeded, and much trouble and subsequent expense would have been saved to my master.

But unwilling to part with me till he should be himself ready to embark, he delayed me so long, that the inundation had already put the stone quite under water and out of sight, which rendered useless both the tackle and the boat that I had brought with me on purpose. For unfortunately, Mr. Belzoni, fearing fresh disputes as to Mr. Bankes's property in this pedestal, (though the original and uncontested finder of it,) had, in default of means for sending it at once down the cataract, carried it across from Philæ to a low sand bank opposite, and there laid it on its

face. But the spot was chosen with so little judgment, that the smallest rise of the river must inevitably cover it, and make the transport impossible, during all those months of the year when the passage by water is the easiest, and it was owing to this, that, at length, after more than two years, it was found to be the best expedient to drag it by land *, till it could be shipped below the rapids.

I dwell the more on this disappointment, a severe one to me, because I should have felt a pride and pleasure in promptly rendering this service to one whom I always remembered with gratitude and attachment. But the failure was not imputable to any fault of mine.

Towards the close of that same year, of

* Under the personal direction of Mr. Salt in 1821.

which I am now speaking *, I was recommended by Mr. Salt to the service of Sir Frederic Henniker, and accompanied him in his canjia beyond the first cataract as far as Abbusombal, where we found the door-way of the great temple so choked again already with sand, that it required a labour of many hours to clear an opening.

Sir Frederic was as fond of shooting as myself, and consequently much of our time was devoted to the wild fowl of the Nile, and the birds and beasts of the desert. He attached himself much less to the antiquities, and nothing remarkable occurred during our voyage, excepting a long search which we made one night, near Manfallout, for that catacomb in which some of Mr. Legh's guides were represented to have been stifled. A sort of

* December, 1819.

hole or crevice of the rock was pointed out, into which Sir Frederic penetrated a great way with a light, on hands and knees, and I had the curiosity to follow him, but meeting with nothing of any interest, we turned about, and remained with the impression that we had been brought to a wrong place.

From Esné he determined on a journey to the El Wah (Oasis), which is one of considerable hardship and fatigue, and was altogether new ground to me; five hired camels were provided for it, and some guides. We saw no other indication of a track across an arid and melancholy desert, excepting piles of stones heaped up as landmarks here and there, and the bones of beasts of burthen which had dropped and died by the way, scattered all along.

A forced march of three tedious days

brought us at last to water and cultivation, and we were kindly and hospitably received at Beriss* (the first village of El Wâh), by the Sheik. Next morning we were led to a spring sometimes hot and sometimes cold, and not very far from it to the ruins of a small temple, which is not quite unlike those of Egypt, and yet not quite resembling them. Sir Frederic copied from it a Greek inscription; but seemed disgusted altogether with the expedition, and having no inclination to penetrate any further, turned round, and went back to the Nile.

At Thebes he bought some very curious mummies with Greek writing upon them†,

* Sir Frederic writes the name Boeris.

† One only seems to have had Greek writing on it, and was presented by Sir Frederic to the British Museum, but he was mistaken in stating in his notes, p. 139, that the tomb where it lay, as being Grecian-Egyptian, was "the first of its kind hitherto discovered," since

and carried them down with him. On the return to Cairo, he climbed, with another English gentleman, to the summit of the second pyramid, (a feat which I have never seen done before nor since by any European,) and soon after took his departure for Suez *.

I resumed my post of janissary in Mr. Salt's establishment only during a very short interval; for Mr. Rennie arriving soon after, I was again appointed to take upon me the functions of guide and interpreter, and to reascend the Nile immediately. We had got no higher than Achmim, when a distressing accident disabled

there are many close round, (as in a churchyard,) the little insulated temple of Isis near Medinet Abou; and one of that most curious pair which is described by Pietro de la Valle in 1614, as purchased by him at Saccara, had the word ETTYXI written on it.

* Notes of this Journey were published by Sir Frederic himself, second edition, Murray, 1824.

Mr. Rennie's servant, who, joining in a discharge of fire-arms, upon occasion of a dinner given on board to some acquaintance who were descending, so overloaded his pistol, that it burst, and the arm was frightfully shattered. His kind master bandaged it with his own hands, tearing up one of his own shirts for the purpose, and sent him down to be taken care of at Cairo, making shift himself for the rest of the voyage without any regular attendant about his person; but his amiable disposition made it a pleasure to me to render him any services that I could: and, as it happened, a good deal of care and attention was necessary; for on his return, after having proceeded so far as Wady Halfa, he sickened at Thebes, and continued very ill there for some time, without any one to nurse, and wait upon him, but myself. I

did my best to provide all that I could, but fear that, in such a place, he must have felt the want of many comforts. His cheerful temper, however, carried him through it, and he recovered. I then accompanied him to Cairo, and did not quit him till I saw him fairly embarked at Alexandria, after having made a very complete and observant tour upon the Nile. After his departure, I was once more attached to the British Consulate for about a year; when it became again my fortune to engage in a journey the longest that I have ever undertaken, which I will reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

M. Linant sent to discover Meroë—MS. of Homer—Poverty of the Country—Turkish Commissariat—Dongola—Warlike people of Shageiah—Ismael Pasha's generous conduct to a captive princess—Ruins and Pyramids at Birkel—Shendy—the Malek Nimmer—Great Temple at Mesorat (Meroë)—Bahr el Abiat—Sennaar—Elephants—Monkeys—Giraffe—Fasuolo—Wedding ceremonies at Shendy—Execution there—Murder of Ismael Pasha—Isle of Argo—Temple at Soleb—Eight thousand Negroes trained to arms at Assouan—The Author comes to Liverpool—to North Wales—to London.

I HAVE already mentioned Monsieur Linant *, the young Frenchman whom Mr.

* Auguste Linant, native of Bretagne, was brought up as a midshipman in the French navy, and came into Egypt with Count Forbin, 1818, from which time he remained there till he engaged himself with me. His first journey was to Siwah (the oasis of Ammon), the second into the desert of Mount Sinai, and that which furnishes the subject of this chapter the third, made upon my account. He came to England in 1823, bringing with him all his maps and drawings, and remained

Bankes on his final departure from Egypt had left there with a salary, upon condition of his taking the very earliest opportunity of following up the discoveries upon the Nile to the southward, with a view especially to fixing the site and examining the remains of Meroë. How far the injunction had been punctually complied with, of setting out the soonest that circumstances should permit, it is not my place to inquire*, but full twelve months had

some time in order to get them finished. He was afterwards engaged by the African Society, and is now travelling on their account.

* I am as much at a loss upon this point as the author can be, since the departure of the Egyptian army (whose force is estimated by Mengin, vol. ii. p. 195, at three thousand four hundred infantry, and one thousand five hundred cavalry, besides five hundred auxiliary horse of the Ababdi Arabs), for the expedition which was to open the upper country, took place in the autumn of 1820, and Monsieur Caillaud and Monsieur Jomard seem to have gone up with it at that time on the part of the

elapsed before I heard of any preparation at all for the journey, and it was then that I was for the first time requested to take part in it as janissary and interpreter, to which Mr. Salt raising no objection, I agreed, and made myself ready.

The traveller was furnished by his employer with instruments of every description, and when all other requisites were provided, (the quantity of which was proportionably increased by engaging Dr.

French government. An "American in the service of the Viceroy" published a "Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar," J. Murray, 1822, which, as it was presented by him to Mr. Salt, that gentleman dedicated to me. It has the form of a diary, but with the absurd affectation of giving all the dates by Mahommedan reckoning. The ophthalmia and ill health also seem to have prevented the author from profiting much by his journey, and it is a work, therefore, of very little attraction. Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury's notices of the same country (so far only as Merawi) relate to the same period, and are far more curious and valuable.

Ricci in the company, and two common servants,) we all took our departure together for Assouan *. And it was during our stay there of a few days that, on the opposite island of Elephantine, (which I have always remarked to be, after Thebes, the place where the greatest harvest of curious antiquities is brought for sale by the natives,) a roll of papyrus in the Greek character † was put into my hands, for which I bargained and fixed the price in

* June, 15, 1821.

† In my own journey, I bought a scrap of Greek upon papyrus in a very fine clear character, which seems to be the fragment of a letter or edict. I have a great number of tiles also written in a cursive Greek character, and highly curious upon that account, which purport to be receipts of pay by the Roman soldiery at Assouan during several reigns, from Tiberius to Commodius—one of these I found myself at Elephantine; and I have an amphora, also, that has served the same purposes as a modern slate to some tradesman's family in Roman times, with his house or shop accounts registered upon it in ink from day to day.

the first place, and then took it to Monsieur Linant for the money, stipulating at the time that it was to be bought on Mr. Bankes's account.

This roll proved to be that manuscript of Homer * which is considered so precious, but which it grieved me afterwards, and ever will, to have seen sold for more than its weight in gold † to that gentleman whom I considered the owner of it, and who would certainly have had it at my hands, without any further demand.

In the passage through Nubia it was

* It contains the last book of the Iliad, most beautifully written, in uncial letters, and the lines numbered in the margin: what is very surprising, it has rad accents added to it afterwards.

† The author, though the first who had the handling of this papyrus, seems here to have formed a very undue estimate of its weight, for the sum which I paid for it amounted to no less than 25,000 piastres (about 500*l.*), that being stated as the offer that had been made for it from another quarter.

thought necessary to procure a strong written order of protection and recommendation from the Kashief resident at Wady Halfa, addressed to those higher up; but notwithstanding, beyond this point, we soon began to feel the inconvenience of being so many in number, for the late invading expedition had so drained and exhausted the country, that though the usages of Mahommedan hospitality might still have enabled one or two persons, well recommended, to have passed through it without being suffered to want, yet for a party of five, with their camels, a night's entertainment, or even a mid-day halt would have proved a serious tax on such a poor peasantry; and that which could not be looked for as a gratuity, could still less be obtained by purchase, where coin is

scarcely current *, and barely sufficient subsistence produced at best for domestic consumption.

In this dilemma, there seemed to be no alternative but to have recourse to a very obvious artifice. The Egyptian army, under command of Ismael Pasha, son of Mahomet Ali, being now far in advance †, he had, in order to maintain his line of communication, and facilitate the passage of recruits and couriers, stationed depôts at certain intervals, where rations might be drawn by those going up or down on

* The American's Journal speaks repeatedly of the difficulties experienced in passing the Egyptian money, which is no wonder, since it is of the basest possible metal, and almost without any intrinsic value whatever.

† This expedition was sent up, not only to dislodge the Mamelukes, but in order to lay hands also on the resources of the interior, and above all, to enable the Pasha to bring together and organize a negro army.

the public service. Relying, therefore, on my military dress and habits of a soldier, I used to accommodate my story to the circumstances, and go boldly forward to demand what we wanted of this newly-established commissariat; and even where, from speech or appearance, two of my companions were suspected or discovered for Europeans, it led to no further detection, since many such were known to be in the Pasha's pay, as engineers, and in other departments.

Ismael Pasha himself, when he learned from us afterwards how we had used his name, did not blame us at all for it, but admitted it to be matter of necessity, and even gave us his full permission to do the same in returning, wherever we could not be otherwise supplied.

The ruins opposite to Semneh (for we

made our journey at first on the right bank) detained us the less because I had seen them before, when the details also had been already taken*, and the columns at Amarra brought to my mind all the weariness and inconvenience of the retreat from thence on foot on a former occasion. It was not, therefore, till we had passed beyond the island of Say, and entered the district of Mahass, that the country became entirely new to me. Its natural face differs little from Succot, which we had just traversed, presenting a surface very rugged for the most part, and stony, and but a narrow stripe of cultivation along the water's edge, with here and there tall groves of palm trees, of a very superior growth, and excellent quality.

The population seemed thin and very

* In the journey of March, 1819.

poor; the men, for the most part, naked, and the women more kept out of sight, and less immodest than they are further up the river. Till subdued of late, this was looked upon as a peculiarly lawless and savage race, and much dreaded by the smaller caravans which passed that way; and we even still heard of occasional marauding parties within their confines. They have huts of reed or small mud cabins, and very frequently castles or castellated inclosures of no better materials than these last, but yet solidly constructed, consisting of a square walled inclosure, with towers at the two cross angles, built to protect the cattle, as well as the inhabitants; and in these we frequently passed the night.

We could plainly distinguish across the river, and stopped to admire as we passed,

the noble ruins of a temple at Soleb *, which might be expected to prove very ancient, since the character of its columns appeared to resemble those of Thebes. We had no means, however, of crossing to it, and were therefore obliged to forego the examination till our return, and soon afterwards, for the same reason, to defer visiting the island of Argo for the present, on which antiquities were also visible.

We found, however, upon our own bank, in the desert, a pyramid of brick, being the first pyramid that occurs in the upper country, and in another spot, close down to the Nile, a place where granite had been quarried anciently, with hieroglyphics inscribed, and a little fallen statue.

At last we came in sight of the great

* M. Linant writes it Seloup, and calls the temple Georgie.

plain of Dongola, and its new capital Maireiga, which had been founded by the Mamelukes; but we were still on the wrong side of the stream, and consequently made every signal in our power, by the discharge of fire-arms, in order to attract attention, but failed for so long a while in producing the desired effect, that our tent was actually pitched, and we were beginning to abandon all hope, when at last, after at least four hours delay, a boat was sent across to us.

It found me in a state of great exhaustion, for as during all that tedious and monotonous journey, I had resorted to shooting at birds and wild animals, as my chief amusement, so on that particular day, when it seemed likely we might be left to our own resources, (the tract being quite desert,) I had dismounted with the more eagerness, in the hope of providing

a dinner with my gun, and had succeeded in killing a fine gazelle, but gave time to the camels in the mean time to gain upon me so much, that I had to carry the prize upon my shoulders during at least three hours, and when I rejoined my companions with it at the halting place, was more than half dead with fatigue: this, however, produced no other ill effects in the end than the spoiling of most of my clothes, for there is a worm or small insect in the soil of all that country, which will eat through any sort of cloth that is laid upon it within an incredibly short time; and though we had been warned, and had even some little previous experience of this, I was then in no condition to look to precautions.

I was awakened in order to enter the boat with the rest, and we crossed in it

with all that belonged to us, but had to walk about a mile inland to the town, from the place where we were set on shore. Mareiga is but very slightly elevated from the great flat which surrounds it, and is of no great extent; but there is a sort of a palace there, or such as may pass for one in that country, and a garden belonging to it. There were no fortifications at the time of our first visit, though we found the place walled on our return; and there is not the least vestige of antiquity either here or at old Dongola*, (which the Mamelukes forsook for it, though standing in a more commanding position in the same fertile plain,) if early Christian churches and monasteries be excepted, which abound in this as well as in all the other districts.

* M. Linant writes this Dongola Agiouse.

We were fortunate in finding here Abdim Kashief,* in command, who, being a friend of Mr. Salt, from whom we delivered a letter, received us with great kindness and hospitality, and made our stay of two or three days very agreeable, during a part of which I took my usual recreation of sporting in the thickets and cultivated lands, which spread here to a great extent, so as to form quite a contrast to the narrow stripe which Nubia and the intermediate country consist of. I here killed, for the first time, in the corn-fields, a little bird of a very beautiful species, which I do not think is known lower down, whose colours are scarlet, or perhaps rather orange, and

* He had the government of all the country allotted to him between the second and the third Cataract.—*American's Journal*, p. 130.

black, and brought the skins of several to our doctor, that he might preserve them.

The Dongolese (so all those of that province are called) seem a lively, gay, and profligate people, their appearance much like that of many of the Nubians, with little clothes, and much grease in their hair, a skewer being stuck there also, for the purpose of dressing and scratching it; the little crooked knife is buckled on the arm or thigh, and many talismans also, in leather cases, are worn as bracelets, or about the necks of both sexes; as arms, the shield is common, and a broad flat sword, hanging on the back, between the shoulders. The girls, as in Nubia, go naked, with only a leather fringe below the waist till they are marriageable. A regular bedstead, with four feet to it, is

used for sleeping, possibly as a protection from those ground-insects which I have mentioned, and a little wooden rest for the head, as a pillow, exactly similar to those which I have seen found in the old mummy-pits.

The famous Dongola horses do not abound here, but more properly come from Shageiah; they are rather serviceable than handsome, and are almost always black, with white legs. There is another species of horse also still rarer, and much more costly, which stands of a prodigious height* (almost as much as a small dromedary), and which is fed on camels' milk during many months in the year. The natives are good riders, and have a peculiar sort

* The American, in his Journal, mentions two particularly, sent by Melek Nimmer, eighteen hands high, which he describes as of extraordinary beauty, and both stallions.—p. 117.

of saddle, with a stirrup that is little more than a ring, upon which they rest one toe only, and wear no spurs; they have often a very fine iron chain as the rein to their bridle.

They do not appear to be a people that would have submitted quietly to the Mamelukes, had they not been taken altogether by surprise, and their sovereign assassinated by Abderachman Bey in the very first parley, which left them without a head; up to that time it seems that the investiture of this sovereignty was derived from Sennaar, by the symbol of a cap sent from thence annually, in the manner of the horsetails from Constantinople. The body of Mamelukes who seized upon the country were less than four hundred at first, and were reduced to about one hun-

dred and fifty, when the present expedition came up, and drove them before it, some retiring to Shendy, to Kordofán, or Darfur, and some making their terms with the Pasha in the first instance.

Our kind host did not confine his attentions to us to the short period of our stay in Mareiga, but on our departure upwards not only provided us with all that we could want by the way, but with a boat also, which was ordered to convey us to Tangassi, the farthest limit of his jurisdiction towards the province of Shageiah*, where we were told that we should find another kashief in command, to whom he recommended us by letter.

Some small ruins arrested us here and

* Mengin writes Châikyeh, and computes their force in *mounted* fighting men at eight thousand (vol. ii. p. 203), which is doubtless beyond the mark.

there by the way; but we soon reached our destination, and were received with all the kindness that we had been led to expect.

We were now come near to what had been the principal scene of action in the progress of the Egyptian army; all below had either fled before it, or submitted quietly, but the people of Shageiah were of a different temper, and were not subdued, nor would allow of any passage through their country, till two great battles had been fought with them. The first of these was at a place called Corti, and the second, after a very short interval of time, somewhat higher up, and on the other bank. They were a nation of naturally warlike habits, and a sort of freebooters, so that they were much dreaded by their neighbours, and had always maintained

their independence against the Mamelukes by force of arms; but upon this occasion a sort of fanaticism, it was said, had also been excited amongst them by their Santons, who were in great numbers, and pretended to be a sort of wizards, not only promising them an easy victory, but infatuating them so far as to make them believe that, by the use of some consecrated dust, they would become invulnerable, heaps of which were provided and distributed accordingly; and I heard many of the Pasha's soldiers say, that the Shageians seemed to come towards them at Corti* rather in the attitude of dancing than of fighting, as though in derision; and

* Mengin writes this name incorrectly Kourat; he dates the battle Nov. 4, 1820, and says the Shageians stated their numbers engaged at three thousand six hundred. The American Journal writes Kourty, which seems the true name.

indeed their superiority in point of numbers was very great; but the first fire soon taught them that they were neither musket nor pistol proof *, and the day terminated in the slaughter of more than seven hundred, the sovereign, with the title of Melek †, escaping, but his daughter falling into the victor's hands; for many women had appeared amongst them upon the field.

* There were no cannon employed in the first battle, but two pieces did great execution in the second, where the native force seems to have been much greater, and in which the infatuation of the natives is mentioned by the American, without any cause assigned for it; for he says, "some of the peasants in advance of the others, with no other arms than lances and shields, threw themselves upon the cannon, and were blown to pieces." —p. 84; and again in the note to the same page.

† He was called Zibarra; his daughter is represented in the American's Journal as being rather taken in flying from her father's castle after the battle, than actually on the field; but both he and Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury record Ismael's chivalrous conduct respecting her in the terms it deserves.

Ismael Pasha's treatment of this barbarian princess was very noble, for when presented to him, though said to be younge and beautiful, instead of availing himself of the rights of conquest, he ordered her to be richly dressed, and a camel provided for her, and that she should be conducted back immediately to her father, who, upon the first sight of her Egyptian ornaments, turned away his face from her, and asked if she had submitted to be dishonoured; but when she told him the truth, he embraced her, and seemed disposed to have made no more resistance, so that the policy would have been as good as the generosity of this action, had the same system of conciliation been pursued in other matters.

But the exasperation of the soldiery at having been opposed, and the greediness of plunder or reward drove them to hor-

rible excesses and outrages, so that it was no wonder that a single victory had not sufficed, and that a high-spirited people continued to do all they could against their oppressors. The signs of this were but too visible, for half the natives whom we met, many even of the women, were deprived of one or both of their ears, others mutilated in their limbs, and bones, and carcases, and hovels that had been burnt, were every where to be seen by the way; the persecution seemed, in fact, to be carried almost to extermination in Shageiah, and the whole district laid waste, but it had by these means been reduced to a sullen obedience.

In order to get to the ruins at Merawi and Birkel, of which we heard much, the Cashief of Tangassi recommended our carrying on the same boat which we had

brought with us, and gave us also one of his men, both as a guide, and to authorize our getting all that we might want by the way, and to facilitate our going forward afterwards. The distance was not considerable, and we found remains at Birkel that far exceeded expectation, for there are what seem to be the ruins of a considerable temple, and a very great number of larger and smaller pyramids, not indeed exactly resembling those of lower Egypt, for the base of these is smaller in proportion to their height, so that the angle at the summit is much sharper; and they have the peculiarity also of a sort of false door, or little sepulchral chapel attached upon one of the sides, which excited our curiosity so much to know what could be in the interior, that we set a number of natives to excavate in one of them, but

after a good deal of labour, failed of discovering any passage into the interior. There are hieroglyphics as in Egypt, but the human figures (especially the females) are differently represented as to form*. During the progress of that fruitless experiment, I was one day so successful with my gun as to bring back three gazelles to our station.

* The peculiarity is not that which might have been expected from that line in Juvenal,

In Meroë crasso majorem infante mamillam—SAT. XIII.

but those who recollect the figure of the Hottentot Venus exhibited in London, would find the outline of these ladies not very dissimilar, and it is remarkable that an excess of form of the same description is still not only considered a beauty, but as an appendage distinctive of high birth in Abyssinia. It was probably the same with the Ethiopian queens—the Candaces mentioned by so many ancient authors, whose effigies are so often repeated, and make so conspicuous a figure in these Ethiopic sculptures, as to leave no doubt of the frequent occurrence of females in that dynasty, a remarkable confirmation of the few scanty notices which we possess respecting it.

From Birkel we crossed back again, and found on the left bank another group of pyramids (at Merawi), some of them differing in form from all that we had before seen *. Here, after dismissing our boat, we mounted again upon our camels, and crossing a desert, took our leave of the Nile during four days; after which, we came down upon it again, at a point where there were many boats belonging to the army, for the transport both of troops and provisions. The current was strong, and the wind often contrary or too weak, so that no dependance could be placed on a sail, and these boats, therefore, were all towed by the inhabitants, under compulsion, against the stream, the pasha having proclaimed the

* One of them has the peculiarity of being, in fact, a lesser pyramid inclosed within the body of a greater, as is very visible at one of the angles which is fallen into ruin.

most severe punishments for such of them as should refuse this task when called upon.

Upon sight of our orders from Cairo, and the written recommendations of Abdin Cashief, one of these boats was allotted to us, and it became my office to go on shore at every village that we passed, to get a new relay of men or boys for the rope, who, if caught, always submitted, but with very evident reluctance.

It required several days of this slow navigation to bring us to Berber, where we had hoped and been led to expect to find Maho Bey in authority, but had the disappointment to learn there that he had been called higher up, and had left only an inferior officer in command, who, not being able to accommodate us with the camels that we applied for, recommended our

continuing on in the boat as far as Damer, which was but one day further, where we could doubtless be supplied with them.

During the passage thither, we passed the point where the little tributary river, Bar Mogram*, falls into the Nile, and though it appeared shallow at this season, and almost dry at our return, it was an object of interest and curiosity, since from thence, all the way down to the Mediterranean, not so much as even a brook contributes its waters to this noblest and most singular of all rivers.

At Damer, in consequence of some dispute, Dr. Ricci separated from M. Linant, and left us, and we heard no more of him for the present, nor did we even know in

* This is the Astaboras of the ancients, the country through which it runs being still called Atbara; and that included between it and the main course of the Nile, is the ancient Meroë.

what direction he was gone, till we reaped the benefit of some good offices that he had done us at head-quarters before we arrived there.

As for M. Linant and myself, so soon as camels were found for us, and necessaries provided, we pursued our journey, employing the first of two days in crossing a tract of desert, and arriving in the course of the second at a village, in the neighbourhood of which is another large camp of pyramids, (if I may be permitted the expression,) which resemble those of Birkel in form, but are larger in dimensions, and so numerous, and so curious in their details, that four whole days were consumed in the examination, drawing, and mapping of them *.

* Nothing can exceed the beauty of these drawings, and indeed of the whole collection made during this journey.

From thence, after travelling two days more, we came in the evening to Shendy, the capital of the most powerful and popular among the native princes of these parts, called the Melek Nimmer,* whose rule extended over a very considerable tract on this side the river, and embraced a population amounting to at least 20,000†. He had however submitted to the Pasha, and was confirmed in a sort of tributary authority. He showed us great attentions, both upon our arrival, and during all our stay, which, as there are more of the comforts and conveniences of life in the town, than in any other that we had met with on this side Egypt, was prolonged to about fifteen or

* Mengin writes Malek Nimmer, and the town's name Chendy.—vol. ii. p. 208.

† The American's Journal says, 'the Maleks of Shendy and Halfa, eh would together bring into the field 30,000 horsemen, mounted on steeds, probably as beautiful as any found in any country in the world.'—p. 137.

twenty days, and was spent not unpleasantly.

The cause of there appearing to be something more of civilization and luxury here than lower down, seems to be, that it is the principal place of halting and rendezvous for the great caravans, whether connected with the Red Sea by Suakim, or with Abyssinia, or with Kordovan and Darfur, and the Negro countries, the merchants generally resting themselves, and even trafficking here, which rendered it (at least before the invasion) a place of comparative opulence*. The dollar is here in esteem, but especially that of Charles IV.†

* The same causes doubtless recommended this neighbourhood for the ancient capital of Æthiopia.

† Let no one unacquainted with these countries feel surprised at this distinction, when I add, that throughout the East no watch is in any esteem that has not the

and little lumps of gold are also employed as money, the purchaser always bidding for the article till he arrives at the price expected. On every Friday there is a great market, which lasts two days, and though I have often seen camels killed for eating before, I never saw it so general a practice as here. The language is universally Arabic, and so continues beyond Sennaar—the Nubian or Barabra (which I have heard Mr. Bankes say he thought to be the ancient Coptic) not extending higher than Dongola.

The habits of the two sexes are profligate to the last degree; chastity in the women seeming to be held in no sort of repute, and little if any shame attached to

name of George Prior upon it, though no such maker now exists in reality; and the letters composing the words are not known to those who are yet, from habit, very well able to recognize them when put together.

adultery, either with respect to the wife or her husband, although both here and at Berber, there are not wanting those who make a trade of their favours; and masters will even let out their female slaves for hire.

The surrounding territory is a plain of great extent, and the town itself of considerable size, and reasonably well built of brick, according to the mode of that country. The Melek Nimmer's house is a large one, and a drum of ceremony is beat in it twice a-day. He had himself a fine person and very gracious and dignified manners: he wore that bonnet which is the ensign of sovereignty*, and had even the distinction of a helmet, shield, lance, and

* M. Linant obtained one of them from him, and presented it to me when he came to England—it is of a tawny coloured silk, quilted.

sabre, all more or less ornamented with gold. One of his wives was a daughter to the Sultan of Sennaar. His subjects never approached him without prostration; his name being also, after that of God, their most sacred oath. He could read, for we found him at our very first interview busied with his Koran.

From him, during our residence at his court, M. Linant endeavoured to obtain all the information that he could respecting antiquities to be found in that province, which was at first very difficult, since it was impossible to make him comprehend what purpose such researches could serve, no traveller having ever gone up before with such an object.*

* M. Caillaud did not visit the ruins at Mesauʻrat till subsequently to M. Linant; they seem, unquestionably, to be those of Meroë.

He betrayed, however, no feelings of jealousy upon the subject, but did what he could to inform us, and we had no sooner ascertained that some great ruins existed at the distance of only six hours, than we prevailed on him to send us thither, and found them indeed to be those of a very large and remarkable temple, bearing the name of Messorat, which employed the draughtsman's pencil three days, during some part of which I was not idle with my gun, for in the very first of them I killed a large animal of the antelope species, that is called in that country Ariel*, which being so large as to require two men to carry it, sufficed us for all our meals till our return to Shendy on the fourth.

* The meat is dark, and has a strong musky flavour, and the skin is much prized by the natives for making skins for water, they believing it to have the property of keeping it sweet.

Here we now made the purchase of two dromedaries, and took camels on hire for the baggage and attendants, and so setting forward found a temple of moderate dimensions in the course of the first day, which is situated not far from the Nile, and required a halt of about four hours in order to take its measures and details; at night we rested in a village beyond it, where an Egyptian officer was stationed.

The next day's journey presented nothing of interest: it finished at Alfaya, a principal though not a large town, in which a Kashief, nominated by the Pasha, commanded; but a very few hours beyond it I was hurt so much by a fall from my dromedary, that I remained in a state of insensibility all day, and having now no medical assistance, my companions almost despaired of me. At length, though

brought to myself a little in the evening, I was incapable of moving at all, so that we were obliged to make shift as we could upon the spot where the accident happened till the following morning, when, though still ailing, I contrived to resume the march, and reached Alefoon at sunset, which, though a small place, is very prettily situated. Here our hired camel-drivers stole away from us with their animals, leaving us only in possession of the two purchased dromedaries; but we were fortunately subjected to little inconvenience or even delay by this loss, for happening to be in a town under military command, upon production of the Pasha of Egypt's papers and passports, all that we could desire was immediately furnished to us, and we proceeded, till, at the distance of not more than about two hours,

we crossed the Bahr el Abiat * with our animals, and found ourselves on the great island or peninsula of Sennaar, included between those two main arms which assume different names, and together form the Nile.

This tract of country presents a much more agreeable and fertile appearance than most of what we had hitherto traversed, which is owing doubtless to its being subject to periodical rains; but for the same reason there are exhalations, especially in the evening and during the night, which are considered very pestilential, so that we were careful not to sleep in the open

* It appears, from the American's narrative, that the Pasha's whole suite and army, amounting to about six thousand, had only nine boats to pass this river; and that seventy horses and some men were lost in endeavouring to imitate the Shageiah and Ababdes who crossed it by swimming. Mengin also notices this fact.

air, but always to reach some village at night.

In the fields and trees there are birds, in wonderful abundance, of the most varied and beautiful plumage. There are also great quantities of monkies, and, what were much more valuable to us travellers, of wild guinea-fowls also, which I found it the more easy to approach and to kill, since they are not molested by the natives, who abstain from them on account of some prejudice or superstition; so that we were abundantly supplied.

At the distance of only about six days from Sennaar we were overtaken in their return and joined by some couriers who had been sent down to us at Shendy, but had unluckily passed us upon the way. They had been purposely despatched thither by Ibrahim Pasha, who was come

up to the assistance of his brother Ismael, and was found at Sennaar by Dr. Ricci, who had contrived to scramble thither long before us; and the chief physician's post happening to be just vacant, was so fortunate as to have it conferred on him immediately. The Doctor had made a very kind use of his facilities of access, and had told Ibrahim of our journey; and when he found that an ulterior expedition was in contemplation, and on the point of setting out, suggested to him how much it must gratify curious travellers to be permitted to accompany him, and how agreeable such a favour to us would prove to the British consul at Cairo. This representation had its effect, and the messengers were immediately sent off, that they might hurry us forwards. Their having missed us upon the way was somewhat unlucky;

but after we had once joined, no time was lost by the party, and we made with all expedition for the capital, where we felt no doubt at all that we should still find Ibrahim Pasha.

In this, however, we were disappointed, for upon our arrival we learned that he had been tired of expecting us, and was gone forward in his boat to the southward, the news of which gave me a pang of regret for the many idle days which we had been passing at Shendy. However, strict and particular orders had been left at Sennaar that a boat should be provided there for us to follow him, and furnished with all that would be necessary; and the banker was even directed to advance money if it should be called for.

We embarked therefore without delay, and the wind being very slack, I was

enabled generally to keep pace on shore with my gun, where the multitude of birds, especially of the smaller sorts, is almost incredible. They assemble many of them, in flocks, which seem quite to fill the air; and, at times, especially in the morning, their song or chirping is louder than can well be imagined.

In the river the hippopotamus abounds, and appears not unlike the buffalo in the distance. It generally comes on shore during the night-time, to feed upon the grain and in the pastures, and is so destructive, that the natives sit up when their crops are ripe, and light great fires to frighten them, or keep a continual noise with drums and cries. In their own element they show little else but the nostrils above water.

Ibrahim Pasha was already too far in

advance for us to overtake him, or we should have witnessed a scene in which Dr. Ricci was not only a spectator, but in the end a very useful actor also, who gave us afterwards the account.

A herd of elephants had come down to drink, upon sight of which Ibrahim Pasha offered a large reward to any of his suite who should kill one; and accordingly several of his Mamelukes crept within shot and fired; but the animals seeming to take little notice of this at first, the young lads were emboldened to go still nearer and nearer by degrees in order to get a better aim, but still the shots took no effect, until at last a bullet seemed to have struck one on the forehead, or perhaps the eye, and to occasion pain, which was intimated by a loud roar and a staggering motion; after which the huge creature,

seeming at once to recover himself, rushed suddenly upon his assailant, and grasping him in his trunk, tore all the flesh off one of his legs, and throwing him up, lodged him among the branches of a tree, from whence he fell dead afterwards to all appearance, but was recovered by Dr. Ricci's skill, with the loss only of his limb.

The elephants abound so much that I saw them pretty frequently, but had been cautioned, before I heard of this particular case, not to annoy them with my fire-arms, and was indeed one day put into great alarm at seeing one very near, and advancing towards me during one of my sporting digressions. The natives had warned me that if such a case should occur, I should not attempt to fly in a straight line, but rather to double round or make a zigzag retreat; yet with the apprehension that I

felt at the moment, it was no easy or agreeable circumstance voluntarily to increase the distance by such a precaution. I did my best, however, and it seemed a long while before I regained the river, in which I plunged immediately up to my shoulders, before I durst take breath or look round, but then saw nothing of my pursuer, so that I might doubtless have been safe with a less exertion.

The giraffe is found in these forests, but is more shy than the elephant, and I therefore never saw one in a wild state, but there was a very young one domesticated at Sennaar, and extremely gentle, which it was intended to send into Europe*. Their skin, though so smooth and delicate,

* A female was sent to England, and another to Paris, and a male to Vienna; one also to Constantinople, I do not know of which sex, but I believe it to be that which is here spoken of.

is very tough, and, therefore, much sought after by the natives for covering their shields, who also eat the flesh both fresh and dried, which seems (for I saw it dried) of a very dark colour and not unlike beef. In these parts, as well as in the forest tracts about Shendy, there are great droves of wild asses, but I could never get near enough to shoot one; nor can they be overtaken by the dromedary, though it will run down the gazelle.

The hyena here is as common as in the whole course of the Nile, but I did not happen to fall in with any other beasts of prey of large size, excepting a beautiful leopard or panther, which I saw in captivity in Sennaar, after being caught in the neighbourhood. We had at one time on board of our boat, a little compact creature that is called aboumansoor, which would

eat no manner of grain or vegetable, but meat only, and yet would not bite, but was perfectly harmless. We had also occasionally some pet monkies. I have already mentioned them as natives lower down, but the number became much greater the further we advanced, and the size also of some larger, for there are several sorts; and the manner of taking them is very singular and diverting, which we had opportunities of witnessing several times. For the inhabitants knead a sort of dough or biscuit, which afterwards, dissolved in water, ferments, and forms a very intoxicating drink *, to which they are addicted. In order, therefore, to ensnare the monkies, a man will fill a sort of pan full of this liquor, and setting it at the foot of a tree which is

* Booza.

frequented by them, will go thence to a short distance, and pretend to have fallen asleep. The animals (often after watching him for a long time) are so far deceived that they come down and regale themselves, when, becoming either quite stupid, or foolhardy from drunkenness, they suffer themselves to be easily taken with a noose thrown over them. Generally speaking, the inexperience of fire-arms makes the wild creatures in that country much less timid than elsewhere, and especially the birds, of which I recollect the remarkable instance, in the very middle of the town of Shendy (when we were there the second time), of a hawk or kite pouncing on a dish of brains which I was carrying home in my hand from the butcher's. But the same fearlessness which deprived us of a delicacy in that one instance greatly facili-

tated our procuring many others, since hares, partridges, pigeons, and antelopes abound.

Above Sennaar the villages are but small, and the people seem to be very simple and barbarous. One day, as I went into one of them in search of provisions, I could not observe that a single living soul was to be seen, till, looking at last into several of the houses, I found the people in one and all of them lying down and covered up as in bed, with their faces distorted, or sprinkled over with dust to pretend sickness; for it seemed that, on hearing of the advance of the Egyptian soldiery they had resorted to this artifice; whether thinking so to escape being pressed for guides and for the towing-rope, or whether fearing still worse, and hoping to move

pity by their supposed condition, I cannot say, but after diverting myself with so odd a spectacle, I took from them what was necessary, and returned to the boat.

On another occasion the sight and sound of my watch excited the greatest astonishment, and they seeming persuaded that it was something holy and supernatural, I humoured their opinion and pretended to them that it was from Mecca, upon which, there was no end afterwards of the applications, and even of the little presents that I received in the neighbourhood, for the favour of permitting these poor savages to rub their foreheads against it.

After a slow and dilatory voyage of many days, we got to Fasuolo, where we found the most part of the suite of Ibrahim Pasha, but not the Pasha himself, for he had landed there, and advanced across the

desert to the distance of five days at the least, in search after some gold mines said to exist in that direction. But while we were preparing to follow him, and had actually animals engaged to convey us, the news reached us that he had suddenly fallen dangerously ill, which prevented our setting out, and at the end of a week he was brought back in a litter in a miserable state of weakness and exhaustion, and even his life still in considerable jeopardy.

The symptoms being those which are known to be produced by that climate, he determined at once on making his retreat from it, and gave up all thought of penetrating further (at least in his own person) in that direction *. But had it not been for that unlucky seizure, there can be no doubt

* Beyond Shageiah there had been no further resistance to the progress of Ismael Pasha: he was voluntarily met by Adlan, the sultan of Sennaar, at some distance

that we should have advanced to a great distance further, and there is no saying to what extent, for the exploring of the Bahr-el-Abiat also was a part of Ibrahim's scheme, who was prompted quite as much by curiosity as any other motive, and especially from the strange accounts given of the customs among some of the people who inhabit those remote regions; the Pasha himself mentioned to me one that he had heard of, where, as a sort of national or religious distinction (in lieu of circumcision) they break off three of the front teeth of every boy when he comes to his seventh year.

In the return to Sennaar, though we were now in the great man's suite, we did not always keep pace with his boat, since

from his capital, who professed submission to the Sultan of Constantinople.—Mengin, vol. ii., p. 212.

M. Linant examined every thing, and made his observations as we went along, and I resumed the pleasures of the chase, yet neither of us found any thing new that was remarkable, but the same monotony of woods and thickets, in which the monkey tribe and birds, elephants and the hippopotamus abound much more than any human population.

Ricci would not suffer Ibrahim to pause at Sennaar, but attended him down at once all the way to Cairo in his boat, which accomplished the voyage in the almost incredibly short period of thirty-six days; and our late companion received from his patient, when restored to health, (to life, it might almost be said,) the prodigious recompense of 10,000 dollars *.

* This noble recompense from Ibrahim Pasha is mentioned by Mengin in a note, vol. ii., p. 192.

In the mean time I remained with Mr. Linant two days in Sennaar, which is a large but straggling town, (for though the capital of an ancient kingdom I can scarce call it a city,) and the houses are much less well built than at Shendy. It stands close down upon the margin of the river, and has a great extent of flat country about it, and a sort of suburb with some gardens not far off. The old palace of the kings is a tall pile of many stories*, but seems to be quite fallen to ruin, and the whole has the aspect of a place on the decline. The native population is tall and very handsome, but seems to be of a rougher and more unsocial nature, and less given to pleasure than those of Berber and Shendy; but perhaps the presence and excesses of so

* The American's Journal says, the centre building is six stories high, with five rows of windows.—p. 163.

larger a body of foreign soldiery as was quartered there occasioned what seemed to be a national and characteristic sullenness of aspect.

On the third morning we took our leave, and returned leisurely, in a boat provided for us, to Shendy, where we found the same obliging and hospitable reception from the Melek Nimmer as on the first occasion *, who invited us frequently to dine with him, and occasionally took his meal also at our table; for our stay was again prolonged there to some weeks, and I myself had a very serious illness during the time, so that I was incapacitated from accompanying M. Linant in a small exploring journey which he made into the neighbouring desert, but which seemed, however, to have led to no interesting results.

* March, 1822.

Therefore, so soon as I was sufficiently recovered, we prepared for our departure, and indeed we had conceived a strong suspicion, from many hints dropped among the natives, that some mischief was brewing against the Egyptians, but above all from the increased urgency with which the money of Cairo was brought to us to be exchanged for dollars, at almost any loss, though the currency of the former throughout the conquered country had been fixed by the most positive edicts, and the relative value of the two sorts of coin fully established. Hence we inferred that this precaution could only be in contemplation of some sudden change and convulsion.

This second residence at Shendy enabled me to make further observations on the manners and habits of the people. Among the most remarkable are the ceremo-

nies practised with respect to funerals; for when any person dies, a great feast is prepared in the house, and all the neighbouring women are invited to a dance, who, with the exception of a very small piece of cloth, strip themselves entirely naked before they enter the room, and then laying themselves down flat at the threshold, creep in that posture to the centre of it, where they arise, and then begin the dance to the sound of a sort of tambourine, played by one of them. The noise of this in a neighbouring dwelling attracted me, and I tried, out of curiosity, to gain admittance, but on no terms could I succeed in the attempt, for, however profligate and shameless are the morals of the place, the presence of no man is ever permitted on these occasions; so I only received the account from the women, but

they all agreed so entirely in their description, that I have no doubt of its truth.

I omitted to mention in my account of the town, that close about it there are some Mahommedan tombs of a very remarkable form, erected by the Jelaheen Arabs, to which tribe Nimmer himself is allied, and the whole dynasty of Shendy for many years back, so that I believe all these sepulchres to be royal: they are of brick, and circular, but carried up in a cone so as almost to resemble little pyramids, at a distance, with a very low and diminutive door. Fanatic santons still abound in this territory, though after their memorable imposture, they were almost exterminated in Shageiah.

Before we had taken our leave, Mahc Bay, commandant in Berber, arrived at Shendy, from an expedition to the west-

ward, against the Djamahab Arabs, and brought with him two of their chiefs or princes, as prisoners, both young men, and low of stature: an elder one, of more importance than either, who was styled king of the White Mountain, had already been put to death, and was said to have died boasting at his execution of the number of Egyptians whom he had killed. The two being now brought into the town were led out on the first market-day, with no further guard or attendance than one armed soldier to each, and an executioner with the sword preceding them. It was quite amazing to see with what firmness, and almost apparent cheerfulness, both kneeled down when desired to do so, and submitted their heads, without a struggle or a single word; and the first stroke not taking full effect upon one of them, he

placed himself in the same posture a second time, and their headless bodies were suffered to lie exposed for two days in the middle of the bazar, till Melek Nimmer at last applied for, and buried them.

Whether these spectacles of severity, and some others of similar nature, were thought necessary from some suspicions of revolt, or whether, in fact, they served rather as the incitements to such a spirit, it is certain that just then we began to hear of the breaking out of disturbances in several parts, and of some advantages even gained by malcontents and insurgents, at about four days' distance above us*, so that it seemed high time to carry our intention into execution of descending the Nile; and as it happened, indeed, this very place was

* Particularly at Alfayha.

destined to prove soon after the principal scene of bloodshed, by the assassination of Ismael Pasha*, and all his suite, in which too it was our friend Nimmer who took the lead, and bore the most conspicuous part. It is not to be supposed, however, that the act had been long in concerting or contriving, or that he himself had it at all in contemplation at the time of our taking our leave, since it arose first out of a sudden reconciliation that could hardly have been foreseen, and out of an insult that probably was not premeditated.

There was an old grudge between Nimmer and his cousin who reigned on the opposite bank of the river, insomuch that he had sworn an oath never to go into

* On the 5th of December, 1822, Mengin says, "Mahomet Ali received the news of his son Ismael's death," but seems to mistake both the scene and circumstances of the assassination, placing it at Sennaar.

his presence, and pleaded this when invited to meet him at a conference by Ismael Pasha; but the excuse was treated with disdain, and he was commanded to come.

Ismael was just returned from penetrating very far to the south in the province of Fasuolo, and had now descended thus far upon a plea of health, but in reality, as it appeared, to wring contributions from the inhabitants of the countries that had submitted.

The purport of his interview with the two kindred sovereigns was of this nature; and Nimmer, to a large demand that was made on his territory, answering boldly that the whole country was ruined, was checked by the Pasha with great haughtiness and insolence, and even struck by him across the face with his pipe.

Common interest and offended pride

now reconciled the cousins, and made them act in concert, with equal promptitude and secrecy. Ismael's quarters were at Shendy, though this fatal conference had taken place on the bank opposite, and his retinue and guard there were very small; a few tents and temporary chambers of straw sufficing for himself and for them all. But there was a little detachment of troops stationed also a short distance off, at Mettamát; and while Nimmer undertook to destroy the Pasha and his suite, the other was to fall upon that advanced guard, or to keep them in check.

That very night, accordingly, each of them contrived after dark to collect a large force, and upon hearing the signal of firing at Mettamát, Nimmer and his people fell upon the sentinels and others who sur-

rounded the place where the Pasha was sleeping, and after having murdered most of them, piled straw and combustibles all round, and set them on fire. Ismael, suddenly roused by this, and but half dressed, seized his sabre, and was endeavouring to force his way out, when Nimmer despatched him with his own hand, and tumbled him into the flames. The surprise on the one part, and ferocity on the other, gave room for little resistance, and in a very short time not a single Egyptian soldier was left alive either in Shendy or the immediate neighbourhood; but some Cairine and other merchants, who happened, fortunately for themselves, to hear of the massacre in time, fled suddenly in the night, and got into safety.

It is rather a singular circumstance,

that one of the Shegeyans, who had fought in the first battles against the Pasha, but had since been in his service*, buried his body without being disturbed by anybody in so doing, and it was afterwards transported into Egypt.

But a dismal revenge was soon after taken by the Defterder Bey, for he almost utterly destroyed the town of Shendy, and made common slaves of the most part of the inhabitants whom he found there, both male and female, who were sent down in droves to Egypt; Nimmer and some others escaping to their kinsmen among the roving tribes of the interior.

Upon our quitting Shendy, I found that

* This is, doubtless, the person whose name is written by Mengin Chaouish, ii., 207; and in the American's Journal Shouns.

our stay there had been protracted to no less than six weeks, and our next halt was at Berber, which was, however, but for a few days, and we then pursued our way towards Dongola, and I observed, that the fall in the river at the island Mogratt, which is considered the third cataract, is greater and more difficult of passage than any other upon the Nile; and it is also remarkable that monkeys are again met with in a district near it, though there are none at all below, nor again above in any of the intermediate space between this and the territory of Sennaar.

The military Commandant of Dongola again did every thing in his power to receive and entertain us hospitably, and, what was very singular in that country and in one of his religion, treated us to

some wine. However, our stay with him was short; and I cannot fully call to mind whether it was at this time, or rather on our going up, that a courier, despatched from Kordovan for Cairo with news of the reduction of that province, shewed us the ears which he carried with him of the sovereign who had been killed, and his saddle, which was very richly and beautifully wrought with gold; but I am inclined to think that it must rather have been on the former occasion, for that the conquest of Kordovan by Mahomet Bey must have preceded the murder of Ismael Pasha very considerably.

We were now travelling by land; but as we passed the island of Argos, a small boat was found to ferry us over into it, and we examined the vestiges of a temple there, and two fallen colossal statues.

Four days from thence brought us to Soleb, where the ruins are in a great state of decay, but very noble in their extent and proportions. They have also (as even at a distance we had been led to surmise) a character of very remote antiquity: two whole days were, therefore, devoted to them.

Neither would we again pass the large island of Say without crossing to it; but found little there to repay our curiosity, excepting a large fort or castle, evidently of no very ancient date*, and some quarries that may, perhaps, be referred to a much more distant period.

Semneh was familiar to me, but I admired again its singular situation, with its

* It is thought to have been built by the soldiery sent up by Sultan Selim II.

diminutive but richly-sculptured temple, and fortifications of granite.

At Wady Halfa we preferred taking boats, and so ordering our camels and dromedaries to join us at Assouan, made our way down thither by water, where we met with some Frenchmen, acquaintance of M. Linant, who were training a body of 8000 black troops there for the Pasha in the European manner, who detained us with them for some days*.

* Mengin speaks both of these troops and of the Frenchmen who had the charge of training them: he names M. Dussop, an army surgeon, as having the charge of vaccination, and M. Sêve that of the drill; all the body seem to have been negroes, mostly from Kerdofan and Sennaar, and the total number of them 8000. The vast barrack which he also mentions as built for them at Assouan, was doubtless the occasion of destruction to the two little temples on Elephantina, by Mahomet Bey in November, 1822, for the sake of a few

It was always impossible to pass Thebes, that region of wonders, without stopping; but, with that exception, we made our journey to Cairo almost as fast as we could, and gave Mr. Salt a report of our travels*. But I had not been many months quietly readopted into his establishment, when a letter reached him from Mr. Bankes, informing him that my testimony was required in England in a cause pending with reference to the first journey to Djerash, in 1816. The incidents of it were so present to me, that I was desirous of making my deposition immediately, and so forwarding it to London; but this, it seemed, the forms of English law would not allow, so that my

square blocks of stone. II. 250. Such have been the first results of this negro-Europeanized army!

* They returned the 24th of July, 1822.

presence in person was absolutely necessary.

I had always been very averse to long voyages by sea, but as this was at the request of my old master, I made no further difficulties, and had a passage taken for me in a vessel bound for Liverpool, which proved very long and tedious, but without risk or adventure. Arriving there, when the term of quarantine had expired, some fellow-passengers took pleasure in showing me all that is to be seen in that fine commercial port; and I was even invited to a splendid ball that was given there, where my rich Turkish dress seemed to attract general attention.

Within a day or two afterwards my old friend and fellow-servant, Antonio da Costa, who, it seems, had but very lately

been brought over from Portugal for the same trial, was sent with an English groom to conduct me into Wales, which is at no great distance; and there I had the pleasure of finding Mr. Bankes in his own house of Soughton, near the little Welsh village of Northop, which, as it was not now the London season, was destined to be my residence during a great many months.

The house at first sight reminded me much (more, indeed, than any which I saw after it) of some of the old villas in the north of Italy, which I recollect to have seen in my youth, for it has towers and much ornamented stone-work and walled courts about it, and lines of trees in almost all directions; and instead of that trim and compact appearance in the

inside which English houses generally present, (especially in London,) there are here large open chambers and galleries, very lofty, but quite naked of furniture, and with little else but the bare walls. The whole was, however, then under repair or rebuilding, and a great deal of it quite unfinished.

The cause being continually put off by the lawyers from time to time, my stay was much longer than was at first expected, so that, the face of that part of the country being very agreeable, I used often to ramble over it on foot or on horseback, and was permitted, under certain restrictions, to divert myself occasionally with my gun. It so happened also that, whilst I was still there, M. Linant came over (landing somewhere in South Wales) and joined us,

still wearing his Eastern habit, and with his Abyssinian lady; so that almost the same party was assembled at the foot of the Welsh mountains, as beyond the Cataracts of the Nile. I grew much attached to the spot before I left it. The simple manners of the Welsh villagers pleased me much better than the rude behaviour which I met with in some principal cities, particularly Chester, where my dress attracted not only attention, but so many insults from boys and idle people, that I found the necessity of taking refuge in a shop. I met, however, with great civility in the neighbouring palace of a nobleman which was shewn to me, and exceeded for richness of ornament all that I saw in the country*. I greatly wished to have seen

* Earl Grosvenor's, at Eaton-hall.

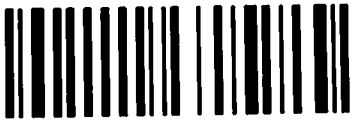
once more the Philæ obelisk, which is at the seat of Mr. Bankes's father, but I was called away out of Wales straight to London, and found that my dress and appearance in that vast capital excited so little remark, that I could go about just where I would; and not only those gentlemen whom I had known and served in the East have honoured me with great kindnesses, but many among the foreigners also, especially Italians, have admitted me to their society; so that almost all that is accessible to a stranger has been open to me, and I found the theatres especially a very great resource: yet of all public places of amusement, none altogether, perhaps, struck me with so much pleasure as Vauxhall.

But I must recollect myself; and, bear-

ing in mind that sights in London have not the same novelty for the reader that they had for me, will here take my leave of him, entreating once more that he will forgive and overlook the many imperfections of this narrative.

THE END.

London: W[illegible]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